

It is my well-considered opinion that the outlook for American peace has never been brighter. Unless America goes to war without just cause, which is unthinkable, she will not engage in war for many, many years. I say to American mothers with all the earnestness I possess that there will not be an American war. No nation on the face of God's good earth wants one foot of American soil, and not one of them has the remotest thought or intention of attacking us or doing us violence. Every other misunderstanding that may occur between America and a foreign state can and will be settled around the conference table.

George Washington, upon his retirement from public life, admonished his countrymen wisely with this sound advice:

Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. * * * A passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. * * * Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury * * * when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. * * * Invet-
erate antipathies against particular nations and passionate at-
tachments for others should be excluded; and * * * in place
of them just and amicable feelings toward all should be cultivated.

In that profound admonition I believe with all my heart. America must stop hating and stop "sicking" other nations into war. She must stop deceiving them or permitting them to assume the existence of an alliance with us which will never be consummated.

I shall wholeheartedly support moderate and sensible national defense, with special emphasis upon keeping fully abreast of the science of war through research and otherwise.

I shall vote for a policy of strict and absolute neutrality and shall oppose showing any favoritism toward any nation or pointing the finger of accusation toward any people with whom we are at peace.

I shall vote against having any connection, directly or indirectly, through sympathy, friendship, or alliance, with other people's wars. All should be warned now that if they go to war we shall have no part in it.

I shall vote against and actively work against the adoption of a policy of sanctions, encirclements, quarantines, world policing, or taking "steps short of war." In my thinking there are no steps short of war. There must be either war or honest neutrality.

If we should be invited by states involved in an international dispute to act as an intermediary—and, mind you, I say "invited"—we should accept the invitation graciously, and feel honored, and then serve to the best of our ability with clean hands and without prejudice, and only upon the absolute understanding that we will not underwrite by force or otherwise any settlements reached through our good offices.

I shall not be pushed one step toward "steps short of war," but so long as I occupy my high office will fight with all my energy to keep my country out of Europe's chronic and sordid quarrels.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Chaffee, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 4630) making appropriations for the Military Establishment for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, and for other purposes.

VOLUNTARY RESETTLEMENT OF AMERICAN NEGROES IN AFRICA

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, with the patience and kind indulgence of my colleagues, I trust I may be permitted at this time to discuss for a little while what is, in my judgment, the greatest, most important, and far-reaching problem that has ever or will ever confront the American people for solution.

It is important in the highest degree because it involves the welfare and perpetuity of two races, the white race and the black race, which are now trying to live side by side in the same domain and under the same government.

The solution of this problem is equally as important to the black race as to the white race, because without a proper

solution both races will be destroyed and will be succeeded by a mongrel race, and at the same time the white race will suffer the loss of all that is dear and precious, high and noble in our civilization.

As certainly as that the sun shines and there is a God in heaven, believe it or not, there are only two solutions to our ever-present race problem in the United States. One solution is the physical separation of the races, thereby preventing the commingling of the blood streams of both the black race and the white race. A physical separation by the voluntary colonization or resettlement of the black race in its fatherland, from which it was brought here by fraud and force, will thereby give the Negro race an opportunity to protect the integrity of its blood stream and have a free and full opportunity to reach the greatest heights of development of which the race is capable and build a nation of the Negro race that will take its stand among the nations of the earth; and by this separation the blood stream of the white race shall remain unchanged and all the culture, progress, and the blessings of the white man's civilization shall forever remain the priceless possession of the Anglo-Saxon in this proud Republic.

The other solution to this great problem is to let the two races continue to live side by side in the same country, which will result, as certain as fate, in the complete amalgamation of the two races in the years to come, and in the loss of the white man's civilization. For 300 years we have tried to live side by side, and in this period of time—a short span when compared with the lives of nations—there have come to be in our midst four or five million citizens of our country in whose veins commingle the blood of the white man and the black man, which should be enough to convince any man or woman with any symptom of intelligence that complete amalgamation will some day be a sad but accomplished fact.

The solution of this race question by the process of amalgamation will take place, whether we wish it or not, if we fail or refuse to solve the problem by physical separation. Therefore it is evident that all the citizens of this country—black or white—whether they desire to be so or not, are either separatists or amalgamationists.

I am constrained to believe that 99 percent of the white race are naturally and normally opposed to the amalgamation or interbreeding of the two races. I also believe that 75 percent of the black race have pride in their racial integrity and are at heart opposed to the mixing of their race with the white race.

I repeat, every citizen, black or white, is on one side or the other. There is no middle ground. This is one question which we cannot straddle. If one is opposed to and is not willing to assist in the physical separation of the races, which is the only thing that will prevent amalgamation, then he is an amalgamationist. Everyone classifies himself by his own stand.

If one is indifferent and is willing to let things go on as they are now going, his indifference and lack of positive action lines him up with the amalgamationists.

The most gratifying thing in my life is to be able today to present to the American Congress petitions signed by two and one-half million American Negroes pleading and begging for a physical separation of the races. By their act in signing these petitions to be resettled in their fatherland—Africa—they say to the world, "We are proud of our race; we believe in racial integrity; we are not willing to have our blood stream commingled with the white blood. We want to flee from this certain disaster that is going to overtake both races by complete amalgamation and the production of a mongrel race."

These petitioners know that in saving their race they are likewise saving ours. They have faith in their ability to work out their own destiny and establish a nation in a country all their own, where they can reach their highest destiny in a land of freedom—a land without oppression and a land without discrimination.

I call the attention of the Senate to the presence of these petitions. The signatures have been carefully counted, and the

petitions have been signed by two and a half million Negroes of the United States. I may add that the petitions come from every State in the Union, praying and asking for a physical separation of the races, or that an opportunity be afforded the Negroes to be resettled in their fatherland.

THE VICE PRESIDENT. The petitions presented by the Senator from Mississippi will be received and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, there is ample evidence that the Negro nationalists, who support this bill, have chosen between the alternative solutions of race problems—between separation and amalgamation—for they have given a wide circulation to the privately published race studies of Earnest Sevier Cox, of Richmond, Va. The works of this author deal with the nature of race problems, rather than with the various phases of the problem, and there has been a close and long friendship between this author and the Negro leaders of the nationalistic movement.

At this point I wish to read into the Record, for the information of the Senate and of the country, the titles of these splendid publications by Colonel Cox. They are *White America*, *Let My People Go*, *The South's Part in Mongrelizing the Nation*, and *Lincoln's Negro Policy*.

In this connection, since the press of the country has given notice of the introduction of a bill on this subject by me, I wish to read some telegrams which I received this morning. First, I read a telegram from Cleveland, Ohio, as follows:

CLEVELAND, OHIO, April 24, 1939.

I am pleased that through your efforts the Senate will receive the resettlement program of the American Negro in his fatherland. We in Cleveland are 100 percent behind you. I feel that if the Negro will ever become a man he must be placed back in his fatherland.

STENBART DYER.

I received the following telegram from Tampa, Fla.:

TAMPA, FLA., April 24, 1939.

We congratulate you in sponsoring the program for American Negroes returning to their fatherland.

DIVISION No. 272, U. N. I. A.,
JOHN WIGGS, Secretary.

The following telegram came from Jacksonville:

JACKSONVILLE, FLA., April 23, 1939.

Senator THEO G. BILBO,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Your law abiding citizens, followers of the martyred African Princess Laura Adorkor Koffey, assassinated Miami, Fla., March 8, 1928, in hearty accord with your views as published under your name in *Chicago Defender* of April 22, 1939. Prayerful wishes for your continued interest and courageous efforts in this cause so thoroughly misrepresented by an element of our visionless misleaders.

MISSIONARY AFRICAN UNIVERSAL CHURCH, INC.

This telegram came from New York:

NEW YORK, N. Y., April 24, 1939.

Senator THEODORE BILBO,

Senate Chamber:

Ten thousand Negroes of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, assembled in mass meeting, endorse your proposed repatriation bill. Hoping for the full support of your fellow Senators.

GARVEY CLUB, INC.,
G. E. HARRIS, President.
C. A. WRIGHT, Secretary.

I received a letter from New York this morning which is very interesting. It reads:

NEW YORK, N. Y., April 23, 1939.

Mr. BILBO:

DEAR SIR: I, Mack Royal, of 2760-8, Apartment 16, sir, on Saturday, April 22, 1939, I was reading the newspaper and I saw where you were to introduce a bill on sending the back people to Liberia. I am very much interested in the plan. I would be very glad if you are able to pass the bill for I am one seartnley will go at the word—I and my whole famley. I am a famley of five, and each one are willing to go at the word. Sir, please inrole my name; please do this with fail. I thank you sir in advance. I trust that you will be able to pass the bill.

Sinsear yours,

M. C. ROYAL.

Sir, please let me know if you received this letter.

I now read a letter from Indianapolis, Ind., received this morning:

2702 CAROLINE AVENUE,
Indianapolis, Ind., April 21, 1939.

THEODORE G. BILBO,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am writing this little note of acknowledgment to your telegram which I received on last evening. I wish to thank you kindly for being so considerate and thoughtful of our club here in Indianapolis, Ind.

The club glories in your spunk in producing a bill of this type to the Senate for judgment. I am very sorry to report that at the present time I am unable to attend the session, but the entire club as well as myself will be with you both spiritually and mentally if not physically.

We are deeply interested in the outcome of this repatriation movement and resettlement program, so if you do not contact division No. 117 directly, you will have the assurance we are with you in mind and spirit.

May God bless you in your untiring efforts, and we do wish you much success in your endeavors, present and future. I beg to remain,

Yours very truly,

THOMAS JOHNSON, President.
PEARL BARNES, Secretary.

The following letter from New Jersey was received this morning:

BETHEL A. M. E. CHURCH,
Woodbury, N. J., April 21, 1939.

The Honorable Mr. THEODORE BILBO,

United States Senator from Mississippi,

The United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

YOUR HONOR SENATOR BILBO: Accept my congratulations for the far-sightedness you have manifested in the preparation of the back-to-Africa bill.

My church and I are behind you. Whatever support you may need to help in the passage of this bill, wire me.

Yours sincerely,

WM. A. DORSEY.

This letter came from Virginia:

CAMPASTELLA,
Norfolk, Va., April 22, 1939.

HON. THEODORE G. BILBO,

United States Senator of Mississippi,

Washington, D. C.:

Your telegram was received, but we are indeed sorry that we can't have a representative present.

But we, the officers and members of the Berkley Division, No. 339, of the V. N. E. A., representing the divisions in tidewater and throughout the State of Virginia, sincerely urge the passage of your repatriation bill.

We believe your plan is one of the greatest ever advanced to bring the great race problem in America to a speedy close.

There are thousands of Negroes in America who want to return to their fatherland and will be too glad to go when the way is provided.

Thanking you in advance and trusting that you will find many supporters among your fellow Senators and Congressmen, we remain,
Yours for success,

BERKLEY DIVISION, No. 339, OF V. N. E. A.,
SAMUEL ASHEY, President.

Mr. President, on May 24 of last year I presented to the Seventy-fifth Congress an amendment to the relief bill then under consideration by the Senate, providing for the repatriation of citizens of the United States of African descent to the Republic of Liberia, and/or such contiguous territory as may be acquired by the United States by purchase from France and Great Britain, such negotiations to be consummated on the basis that the purchase price of the acquired territory should be represented by a credit on the war debts owing to the United States by these countries.

After submitting the amendment I discussed it before the Senate in considerable detail, setting forth, first, in a brief summary, the political and economic support given the repatriation movement by the foremost citizens of this country from the foundation of the Republic to the present time; and, second, extensive biological sanctions of the movement gained from an exhaustive study of the views of the most eminent authorities in the sciences of anthropology, ethnology, and of the world's most renowned writers on the principles of inheritance. At the conclusion of this discussion I withdrew my amendment, having availed myself of the opportunity of submitting what I believed to be irrefutable reasons for its support, because, at the last moment, I considered it

the better part of wisdom to present the proposition as an independent measure in the next succeeding Congress. In conformity to a pledge to that effect made to the Senate, and to the 2,000,000 or more citizens of the United States of African descent interested in migrating to Liberia, I now offer a bill to provide for the liquidation and settlement of the war debts due the United States; to create a bureau of colonization and to provide for the migration and colonization of United States citizens to newly acquired territory; to provide aid to United States citizens desirous to migrate to the Republic of Liberia, and for other purposes. The bill declares the intent of Congress to be that the benefits and provisions thereof shall apply to citizens of the United States who may qualify as eligible for citizenship in the Republic of Liberia, and who, by their physical fitness and climatic adaptability, may qualify as migrants to be permanently settled in the territory to be acquired, and who shall have voluntarily expressed a desire to become migrants under the provisions of the bill.

I most respectfully ask unanimous consent of the Senate that the bill be printed in full in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD following the remarks I am about to make.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the bill will be received and appropriately referred, and, as requested, will be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of the remarks of the Senator from Mississippi.

The bill (S. 2231) to provide for the liquidation and settlement of the war debts due to the United States; to create a Bureau of Colonization and provide for the migration and colonization of the United States citizens to newly acquired territories; to provide aid to United States citizens desirous to migrate to the Republic of Liberia, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

(The bill (S. 2231) is printed in full at the conclusion of Mr. BILBO's remarks.)

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, let me say in this connection that the impression seems to prevail in the minds of some people, especially some of our colored friends, and especially among the newspaper element of our colored friends, that the proposal to provide for the resettlement of the American Negro in his fatherland is all a plan of my own. An attempt would naturally be made on the part of some of these amalgamationists, miscegenationists to prejudice the proposal because I am a Senator representing the South. I wish to say that I am pursuing and prosecuting the campaign for this great program which means the salvation of both the white and the black races, with the support of millions of Negroes, in every State in the American Union, as evidenced by the petition which is on my desk, representing two and one-half million American Negroes.

As I have stated frequently, the Negro in America has no better friend than I am to him. The mere fact that I spent 4 days on the floor of the Senate fighting the so-called antilynching bill is evidence of the fact that I understand the proposition; that I am a real friend to the Negro because, knowing my section as I do, having served as Governor of my State for 8 years, I knew that that legislation would double the number of lynchings in the South. We in the South are solving the lynching question. Lynchings were reduced to about five last year, and it is the sentiment of all right-thinking people that they shall be stopped, but they cannot be stopped by the passage of a piece of unconstitutional and un-American legislation.

The truth about the campaign to bring about the passage of an antilynching bill is that there is a certain organization in this country which has been merely profiteering and racketeering on its own race and others by using the proposal to pass an antilynching bill as a means to arouse prejudice and create interest. In fact, that organization is not the friend of the Negro race. What I am now doing is trying to serve the Negro race in a proper way.

Mr. President, the first effort made to bring about the colonization of the American Negroes was by a committee in the General Assembly of Virginia in the year 1777.

Thomas Jefferson was chairman of that committee. It reported favorably on a resolution for the emancipation and colonization of Virginia slaves. It contemplated the acquisition of territory—a gradual enforcement of the plan, and not only to establish them in a territory of their own, but to support them until they had acquired strength enough to sustain themselves. Only young men, having attained the age of 21, and young women, having reached the age of 18, were eligible.

That was under Jefferson's plan back in 1777. If Senators will read the bill which I have introduced, I believe they will come to the conclusion that no more gracious, more liberal, and finer spirit of helpfulness can be found in all history than the provisions this bill holds up to members of the Negro race who desire to go back to their fatherland and have a chance in a country of their own.

Mr. President, I wish to hear anyone make any observations or objections to my bill because of the suggested expenditure contained in it. The bill provides for the appropriation of a billion dollars to begin with to resettle these people in their native land. That is a very small consideration when we think what the Negro race has contributed to this Nation from the time the Negroes were in slavery even up to the present time, and it is a small consideration when we consider what the Congress is year after year appropriating to carry several million of our American citizens on the relief rolls.

I may say that almost 75 percent of those on the relief rolls in many States are Negroes. Take the District of Columbia, with 10,000 persons on the relief rolls. The record shows that approximately 8,000 of those persons are Negroes and 2,000 whites, notwithstanding the fact that the population of the District of Columbia is 400,000 whites and 200,000 blacks. In other words, 8,000 of the 200,000 blacks are on the relief rolls and only 2,000 of the 400,000 whites. Already it has been suggested that an appropriation of one billion and a half dollars be made for relief for next year. At the last session we appropriated over \$2,000,000,000 for relief. One-half of that amount of money could be spent in providing for the resettlement of the Negro in his native fatherland, and the Government would save money on the transaction, because if we could succeed in removing 5,000,000, 6,000,000, or 8,000,000 Negroes who are now ready to go to Africa we would solve the unemployment problem and do away with the necessity for relief, for there would be a job for every white man and woman in America.

We have two classes of lawmakers. That is true in every legislative body. One class thinks only of today; the other class thinks of tomorrow as well as today. One type prefers to travel in the old ruts; the other prefers to blaze a new road. One type wants to hug the ground with the horse and buggy; the other prefers the air and the heavens above. One class thinks only of something that is ephemeral, that is, temporary, but which will help recollect it to office; the other thinks of the welfare of the country in the future as well as the present, regardless of the results of elections.

Immediately following the War for Independence several States of the Union liberated their slaves, and, as a consequence, outstanding white men began to seek and discuss ways and means to repatriate these freedmen.

It is to us of special significance that Thomas Jefferson was the first man of great prominence to be identified with a repatriation movement in this country. This man Jefferson, the father of the party to the principles of which a majority of the Senate subscribes, wrote more learnedly and truthfully about the Negro than any other man of his time. On divers occasions he implored his countrymen, with the vision of an inspired prophet, to seek to evade, by emancipation and repatriation, a national disgrace and ruin that it now appears will soon overtake us. Notwithstanding his frequent utterances warning the Nation against the evils that would follow where two dissimilar races, equally free, were compelled to live together, many Sophists of his day appealed to the author of the Declaration of Independence in support of the position that the Negro should be recognized in this country upon

terms of perfect equality with the white man. The New York Tribune, the most outstanding newspaper of that age, on April 14, 1866, said:

Mr. Jefferson is, and ought to be, held in sincere reverence by all radicals because of his agency in basing the Declaration of Independence on the broad, comprehensive, eternal principle of equal human rights. As to the fundamental base of our political system, Mr. Jefferson is, and ought to be, the highest authority.

As a matter of fact, when Mr. Jefferson penned the Declaration of Independence he never once thought of the Negro. When he spoke of men, he thought of white men of European origin. When he talked of the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, he was oblivious of any consideration of the Negro. If we fairly scrutinize and weigh intelligently what Mr. Jefferson really did say and write on the subject of the Negro during more than half a century subsequent to the day he penned the Declaration of Independence we will unmistakably find irrefutable proof of our contention that he had no thought of the Negro when he said "All men are created free and equal."

I consider it opportune at this time to quote extensively from the writings of Mr. Jefferson on the subject of segregating the Negro race, more especially the things written from July 4, 1776, the date of that ever memorable document, the Declaration of Independence, to the date of his death, on July 4, 1826.

In Jefferson's Works, volume 8, page 380, written in 1782, we find these words with respect to the general characteristics of the Negro:

Deep-rooted prejudices entertained by the whites, 10,000 recollections by the blacks of the injuries they have sustained, new provocations, the real distinctions which nature has made, and many other circumstances will divide us into parties and produce convulsions which will probably never end but in the extermination of the one or the other race.

In Jefferson's Works, volume 5, page 563, is found a letter written by Mr. Jefferson to John Lynch, under date of January 21, 1811, with respect to an inquiry from Mr. Lynch on the proposition of a Mrs. Miffin to colonize people of color on the coast of Africa. It reads as follows:

You have asked my opinion on the proposition of Mrs. Miffin, to take measures for procuring, on the coast of Africa, an establishment to which the people of color of these States might, from time to time, be colonized, under the auspices of different governments. Having long ago made my mind up on this subject, I have no hesitation in saying that I always thought it the most desirable measure which could be adopted for gradually drawing off this part of our population most advantageously for themselves as well as for us. Going from a country possessing all the useful arts, they might be the means of transplanting them among the inhabitants of Africa, and would thus carry back to the country of their origin the seeds of civilization, which might render their sojournment and sufferings here a blessing in the end to that country.

Again, in a letter addressed to Dr. Thomas Humphreys by Mr. Jefferson, under date of February 8, 1817, found in Jefferson's Works, volume 7, page 57, we find these words:

I concur entirely in your leading principles of gradual emancipation, of establishment on the coast of Africa, and the patronage of our Nation until the emigrants shall be able to protect themselves. The subordinate details might be easily arranged. . . . Personally I am ready and desirous to make any sacrifice which shall ensure their gradual but complete retirement from the State, and effectually, at the same time, establish them elsewhere in freedom and safety. But I have not perceived the growth of this disposition in the rising generation, of which I once had sanguine hopes. No symptoms inform me that it will take place in my day. I leave it, therefore, to time, and not at all without hope that the day will come, equally desirable and welcome to us as to them.

It seems that back in 1817 Thomas Jefferson appreciated the fact that it would be a Herculean task to bring about the desired result, because he said he did not hope to see it in his lifetime. However, I am convinced that the day will soon come when this great program can be made effective. It will be made effective because the Negro himself, as he suffers discrimination, as he suffers from the pressure of economic conditions, as he suffers more and more year after year from attempting to live with the white man, will demand

a physical separation; and whenever the great majority of the Negroes demand it we shall have no trouble in obtaining enough votes in the Congress to pass the legislation.

On page 48, volume 1 of Jefferson's Works, an autobiography written in 1821, Mr. Jefferson said with respect to the Negro:

Nothing is more certainly written in the Book of Fate than that these people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government. Nature, habit, opinion, have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them. It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation and deportation peaceably and in such slow degree as that the evil will wear off insensibly, and their place be, *pari passu*, filled up by free white laborers.

The scheme underlying the repatriation bill is that the transfer of the American Negro to his fatherland shall be a gradual process, so as not to disturb economic conditions in this country, and so that it can be done peaceably. There is not one line or word of compulsion in the scheme. It is all voluntary. We are not trying to Hitlerize our Negro friends in this country. We are trying to help them.

Mr. Jefferson again advocates African colonization of the Negro race in a letter to Jared Sparks under date of February 4, 1824, the letter being found in Jefferson's Works, volume 7, page 332. It reads as follows:

The article on the African colonization of the people of color, to which you invite my attention, I have read with great consideration. It is, indeed, a fine one and will do much good. I learn from it more, too, than I had before known of the degree of success and promise of that colony. In the disposition of this unfortunate people, there are two rational objects to be distinctly kept in view. First, the establishment of a colony on the coast of Africa, which may introduce among the aborigines the arts of cultivated life and the blessings of civilization and science. By doing this we may make to them some retribution for the long course of injuries we have been committing on their population. . . . The second object, and the most interesting to us, as coming home to our physical and moral characters, to our happiness and safety, is to provide an asylum to which we can, by degrees, send the whole of that population from among us and establish them, under our patronage and protection, as a separate, free, and independent people in some country and climate friendly to human life and happiness. . . . I do not go into all the details of the burdens and benefits of this operation. And who could estimate its blessed effects? I leave this to those who will live to see their accomplishment, and to enjoy a beatitude forbidden to my age. But I leave it with this admonition—to rise and be doing.

It will be found from these few excerpts taken from Mr. Jefferson's writings that he weighed every possible alternative, and finally decided upon separation as the only solution of the race problem. He declared that while he desired the Negro to enjoy the full liberties of men, yet it must be in a country of their own, and in a climate suited to their physical fitness and congenial to their mode of living. Is it not strange that the people of this Nation, who have for so long a time honored and revered the name and fame of the incomparable Jefferson, who have seen the renown of his great intellect and commanding abilities increase with the growth of time, still refuse to give heed to his warnings and admonitions with respect to a calamity which he so often pointed out would overtake us? Why do we accept without protest a part of his teachings, and reject another part equally essential to the preservation of the Union? Could he be right only in his advocacy of the principles of government which he enunciated more than a century and a half ago, and to which we enthusiastically and unreservedly subscribe as members of the party he founded, and on the other hand be absolutely wrong with respect to the one particular evil that would eventually destroy the Republic to the establishment of which he had contributed more generously and wisely than any other man.

Thomas Jefferson, the original Democrat; Thomas Jefferson, philosopher and politician; Thomas Jefferson, who has been described as artist, naturalist, scientist, sentimentalist, and utilitarian; as thinker, dreamer, and doer; as inventor and scholar; writer and statesman; who enthralled his followers, and fascinated, while infuriated, his foes, said:

The two races equally free cannot live in the same government.

Who is so bold as to dare deny the truth of these words of Jefferson, which have rolled down through the years in thunderous tones, only to fall unheeded upon ears that would not hear? Jefferson understood, as did no other man of his time or since his day, that the race problem admits of but one of two solutions; namely, separation or amalgamation. By "separation" he did not mean mere segregation. True, segregation would reduce race friction, but it would not solve the problem. It would merely prolong the process of amalgamation. It would move forward a few centuries the date when the future American would become a Negroid. Scientific research has successfully established three propositions beyond all controversy:

First, the white race has founded, developed, and maintained every civilization known to the human race.

Second, the white race, having founded, developed and maintained a civilization, has never been known, in all history, to lose that civilization so long as the race was kept white.

Third, the white man has never kept unimpaired the civilization he has founded and developed after its blood stream has been adulterated by the blood stream of another race, more especially another race so widely diverse in all its inherent qualities as the black race.

No man in America since the foundation of the Republic has understood and appreciated better than did Thomas Jefferson the truth of these three propositions.

The next man in our Nation to propose colonization as a permanent settlement of the Negro problem was William Thornton, a philanthropist, who lived in Washington. He advocated the repatriation of all people of color from the United States back to the homes of their fathers in the African Continent. Nothing he did, however, took shape toward a definite movement. It was not until the formation in Washington of the American Colonization Society that the destinies of the colored people in the United States began to crystallize into a definite idea. Before the organization of the American Colonization Society one other man, an American Negro by the name of Paul Cuffe, became interested in Negro repatriation in 1811, and succeeded in obtaining the consent of Sierra Leone, a small country on the West Coast of Africa, to a program for receiving free American Negroes. Paul Cuffe was a native of Massachusetts, and at the age of 16 was a sailor on a whaling vessel. He organized a crew of Negro seamen and sailed to Sierra Leone and made arrangements with that Government for the reception of Negro emigrants. His plan, however, was not begun until 1815, when, at his own expense, he carried a shipload of free Negroes from Massachusetts to Sierra Leone. He died in 1817, the very year in which citizens of the United States organized the American Colonization Society in the city of Washington. The purpose of this organization was to carry out a program of Negro repatriation. This society, soon after its organization, appreciated the fact that land would have to be acquired upon which to settle the Negro emigrants and that ways and means for their settlement and temporary maintenance would have to be devised. The organization realized further that the task was far beyond their powers to cope with unless it should be aided by the Federal Government. It was their purpose to begin the work of repatriation and thereafter enlist the cooperation of the Federal Government in their praiseworthy undertaking. No organization in the history of our country has had enlisted in its support a more distinguished group of American citizens than the American Colonization Society. Bushrod Washington was the first president. Among the nationally known men who were members of this society, that had for its purpose the repatriation of the Negro, were such distinguished men as Francis Scott Key, John Randolph, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, Charles Fenton Mercer, John Marshall, Andrew Jackson, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, Abraham Lincoln, and a long line of other prominent Americans.

It might be of interest to those who live in Washington to know that the American Colonization Society is still in ex-

istence, and is headed now by Colonel West, who lives in this city.

Daniel Webster, a name just mentioned as one of the members of the society, said on one occasion, as reported in Webster's Works, volume 5, page 364:

If any gentleman from the South shall propose a scheme to be carried on by this Government upon a large scale for the transportation of the colored people to any colony or any place in the world, I should be quite disposed to incur almost any degree of expense to accomplish that object.

Those were the sentiments of Daniel Webster during the early days.

Henry Clay, another member of the society, said in his speech in the House of Representatives in 1827:

Of the utility of a total separation of the two incongruous portions of our population, none have ever doubted. The mode of accomplishing that desirable object has alone divided public opinion. Colonizations in Haiti, for a time, had its partisans. Without throwing any impediments in the way of executing that scheme the American Colonization Society has steadily adhered to its own. * * * Colonization beyond the Stony Mountains—

That is, the Rocky Mountains—

has sometimes been proposed, but it would be attended with an expense and difficulties far surpassing the African project, whilst it would not unite the same animating motives.

Charles Fenton Mercer, also named as a member of the society, sponsored a Virginia memorial requesting the President to acquire land for a Negro colony. Mercer finally became a Member of Congress, and his first move toward the repatriation of the American Negro was to strike at the slave traffic. The antislave act of March 3, 1819, was initiated and engineered through Congress by Mercer. Out of this act developed an appropriation of funds to be used to return to Africa the slaves that were brought illegally to this country. When the time came to execute the provisions of this act Mercer went to President Monroe and insisted that if the unfortunate captives should be returned to the coast of Africa under the provisions of the act, which he had been successful in passing, and if they were there released, the probability was that they would be sold as slaves again and eventually brought back to the United States. President Monroe was favorably impressed with his reason, and thereupon determined to acquire lands on the west coast of Africa on which illegally imported slaves to the United States could be settled and cared for by the Federal Government. In cooperation with the American Colonization Society, he sent out agents to acquire this territory. Sam J. Mills and E. Burgess were directed by the Colonization Society to proceed to the West Coast of Africa and report upon the British settlements in that vicinity with respect to their suitability for a proposed colony of American freedmen and illegally imported slaves. The report of these men justified the society in proceeding further with its colonization movement, and 2 years later the first colony of 88 Negroes sailed for the African coast in the charge of three white Americans, named Bacon, Bankson, and Crozer, the last named being the society's agent, and the Reverend Sam Bacon being the agent of the United States Government. This was the first step taken in acquiring the land now called Liberia. The capital of this country is Monrovia, named for President Monroe.

Mercer did not stop with the Anti-Slave Trade Act of 1819. In 1820 he secured the passage of a measure through Congress, which declared that citizens of the United States engaged in the slave trade should be adjudged pirates and, upon conviction, should suffer death. In 1830 Congress published a volume of 293 pages dealing with Mercer's official efforts in the interest of Negro repatriation and the suppression of the slave trade. It has been said to the credit of Mercer:

There is no portion of the African Continent now under political control of Negro people save that portion reserved for them principally through the labor of Mercer.

During the time of Mercer's efforts to bring about repatriation of free Negroes, there were upwards of 200,000 free colored people scattered through the Union. They enjoyed, in those days, just as the situation is here today, few of the

advantages of freedom. It was thought by the American Colonization Society that if a colony for the 200,000 freed Negroes of the United States could be established in the land of their race, they might, in time, with the proper care and attention given by the Federal Government, become a self-supporting community and thus prepare a way and a home for the eventual colonization of the remaining millions of slaves who, at some future time, would most certainly be given their freedom.

Following the first shipment of 88 Negroes to the African coast, the very next year the ship *Nautilus*, chartered by the United States Government, voyaged to Africa with two Government agents on board, named Winn and Bacon, who were accompanied by two officials of the Colonization Society and a further group of Negro emigrants.

In the autumn of 1821 Dr. Eli Ayres was appointed chief agent of the Colonization Society. He went to Cape Montserrado, the site of the present city of Monrovia, and succeeded in acquiring the whole of the Montserrado promontory, and, as a result, all emigrants were transferred to this new acquisition and there made good their final occupancy.

On Ayres' return to Washington the American Colonization Society selected Jehudi Ashmun, a Negro, for service with the Negro emigrants in Africa. It is said that the life of this man was one continuous sacrifice of self on the altar of duty. He proceeded to Africa in the brig *Strong*, in charge of another group of emigrants. He was instructed to take full control of the settlement. His departure from the United States was on June 20, 1822, and early in August he reached his destination, and assumed the direction and administration of the colony. No man ever gave a greater measure of devotion to any cause than Ashmun did to the progress and development of the colony of freedmen settled in Liberia. As a representative of the Colonization Society and an administrator and a leader of men, the name of Jehudi Ashmun will never be forgotten wherever and whenever the story of Liberia is told.

When Ashmun sailed for the United States he handed over the reins of the administration to Rev. Lott Cary, who remained at the head of affairs at Montserrado until the arrival of Dr. R. Randall, who was appointed by the society in Ashmun's place. By this time the number of the American emigrants had reached nearly 3,000, and the designation of the chief administrative authority was changed to that of governor. The first Governor of Liberia was a white American named Thomas Buchanan. At the close of his administration he was succeeded by Joseph J. Roberts, a Virginia mulatto, who was confirmed by the Colonization Society. During Roberts' administration Liberia continued to grow in importance and in size. Roberts, realizing the necessity for funds to carry on his administrative duties, imposed upon goods imported into Liberia a 6-percent ad valorem duty. The imposition of this tax brought about the independence of Liberia. Foreigners refused to pay this duty upon the ground that the colony, as the commercial experiment of a philanthropic society, was incompetent to exercise sovereign rights implied by the levy of duties on imports. Many disagreeable incidents occurred, such as the seizure and subsequent release of certain infringing vessels, followed by a presentation to the Liberian authorities of heavy claims for damages alleged to have been suffered. The Government of the United States, when asked for a declaration of its attitude, made it clear that nothing was further from its intention than to assume the responsibilities of a protectorate of the colony. Thus, it appeared clear that only one thing remained to be done and that was for the settlers to take into their own hands the management of their affairs and to ask for recognition by the powers as an independent Negro state upon the west coast of Africa.

At this juncture, the American Colonization Society, finding that the offspring of its care and benevolence was now able to go it alone unaided, severed the bonds which had held the colony to the society for so many years. Therefore, the Liberian authorities, with unfaltering courage and with faith

in what the future might have in store for them, resolved to act without further delay, and a convention was called to sit on the 25th day of June 1847. On the 26th day of the following month the declaration of independence was adopted. This declaration of independence is a document so remarkable for its dignity, its pathos, and its admirable clearness of phrase, that I feel that I cannot do better than read it in full at this point.

This declaration by the Republic of Liberia is in a class by itself, and it does great credit to the Negro race throughout the world.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE IN CONVENTION

TOWN OF MONROVIA,
June and July 1847.

PREAMBLE

We, the representatives of the people of the Commonwealth of Liberia, in convention assembled, invested with authority for forming a new government, relying upon the aid and protection of the Great Arbiter of human events, do hereby in the name and on behalf of the people of this commonwealth, publish and declare the said commonwealth a free, sovereign, and independent state, by the name and style of the Republic of Liberia.

CAUSES LEADING TO COLONIZATION AND INDEPENDENCE

While announcing to the nations of the world the new position which the people of this republic have felt themselves called upon to assume, courtesy to their opinion seems to demand a brief accompanying statement of the causes which induced them, first to expatriate themselves from the land of their nativity and to form settlements on this barbarous coast, and now to organize their Government by the assumption of a sovereign and independent character. Therefore, we respectfully ask their attention to the following facts:

NATURAL RIGHTS AND GOVERNMENT TO PROTECT THEM

We recognize in all men certain natural and inalienable rights—

These are Negroes talking—

among these are life, liberty, and the right to acquire, possess, enjoy, and defend property. By the practice and consent of men in all ages, some system or form of government is proven to be necessary to exercise, enjoy, and secure these rights; and every people has a right to institute a government and to choose and adopt that system or form of it which, in their opinion, will more effectively accomplish these objects and secure their happiness, which does not interfere with the just rights of others. The right, therefore, to institute government and all the powers necessary to conduct it is an inalienable right and cannot be resisted without the grossest injustice.

DENIAL OF NATURAL RIGHTS IN THE UNITED STATES

We, the people of the Republic of Liberia, were originally the inhabitants of the United States of North America. In some parts of that country we were debarred by law from all the rights and privileges of men; in other parts, public sentiment, more powerful than law, frowned us down. We were compelled to contribute to the resources of a country which gave us no protection. We were excluded from all participation in the Government. We were taxed without our consent. We were made a separate and distinct class, and against us every avenue to improvement was effectually closed. Strangers from all lands of a color different from ours were preferred before us. We uttered our complaints, but they were unattended to or met only by alleging the peculiar institution of the country. All hope of a favorable change in our country was thus wholly extinguished in our bosom, and we looked with anxiety abroad for some asylum from the deep degradation.

Today every right-thinking Negro in America knows that in this land he is being discriminated against, and will be as long as he lives in this country. That is why so many millions of them are begging to go to Liberia.

WEST AFRICA AS A PLACE OF REFUGE

The western coast of Africa was the place selected by American benevolence and philanthropy for our future home. Removed beyond those influences which depressed us in our native land, it was hoped we would be enabled to enjoy these rights and privileges and exercise and improve those faculties which the God of Nature has given us in common with the rest of mankind. Under the auspices of the American Colonization Society we established ourselves here on land acquired by purchase from the lords of the soil.

SUPERVISION OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY NO LONGER NECESSARY

In an original compact with this society, we, for important reasons, delegated to it certain political powers, while this institution stipulated that whenever the people should become capable of conducting the government, or whenever the people should desire it, this institution would resign the delegated power, peaceably withdraw its supervision, and leave the people to the government of themselves. Under the auspices and guidance of this institution, which has nobly and in perfect faith redeemed its pledges to the people, we have grown and prospered.

In the bill I am introducing today we provide first for a military government of 1 year, to be followed by a territorial government for 4 years, and after that by a commonwealth. All the time these American Negroes will be under the protection of and aided and assisted by the American Government until they reach the state of organization of a government yonder, in the territory we propose to buy, when they will be able to launch their own government as a free and independent nation in the world.

INCREASE OF POPULATION, TERRITORY, AND COMMERCE

From time to time our number has been increased by immigration from America and by accessions from native tribes, and from time to time, as circumstances required it, we have extended our borders by acquisition of land by honorable purchase from the natives of the country. As our territory has extended and our population increased, our commerce has also increased. The flags of most of the civilized nations of the earth float in our harbors and their merchants are opening an honorable and profitable trade. Until recently these visits have been of a uniformly harmonious character, but as they have become more frequent, and to more numerous points of our extending coast, questions have arisen which it is supposed can be adjusted only by agreement between sovereign powers.

ASSUMPTION OF GOVERNMENT BY PEOPLE

For years past the American Colonization Society has virtually withdrawn from all direct and active part in the administration of the Government, except in the appointment of the Governor, who is also a colonist, for the apparent purpose of testing the ability of the people to conduct the affairs of government; and no complaint of crude legislation, nor of mismanagement, nor of maladministration has yet been heard. In view of these facts, this institution the American Colonization Society, with that good faith which has uniformly marked all its dealings with us, did, by a set of resolutions in January A. D. 1846, dissolve all political connection with the people of this Republic, return the power with which it was delegated and left the people to the government of themselves. The people of the Republic of Liberia, then, are of right and, in fact, a free sovereign and independent State, possessed of all the rights and powers and functions of government.

RELiance ON CONSIDERATION OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD

In assuming the momentous responsibilities of the position they have taken, the people of this Republic feel justified by the necessities of the case, and with this conviction they throw themselves with confidence upon the candid consideration of the civilized world.

NO GREED OF TERRITORY

Liberia is not the offspring of grasping ambition, nor the tool of avaricious speculation. No desire for territorial aggrandizement brought us to these shores, nor do we believe so sordid a motive entered into the high consideration of those who aided us in providing this asylum. Liberia is an asylum from the most grinding oppression.

HOPES ENTERTAINED ON COMING HERE

In coming to the shores of Africa, we indulged the pleasing hope that we should be permitted to exercise and improve those faculties, which impart to man his dignity; to nourish in our hearts the flame of honorable ambition; to cherish and indulge those aspirations, which a beneficent Creator hath implanted in every human heart, and to evince to all who despise, ridicule, and oppress our race, that we possess with them a common nature, are with them susceptible of equal refinement, and capable of equal advancement in all that adorns and dignifies man. We were animated with the hope, that here we should be at liberty to train up our children in the way they should go, to inspire them with the love of an honorable fame, to kindle within them the flame of a lofty philanthropy, and to form strong within them the principles of humanity, virtue, and religion. Among the strongest motives to leave our native land, to abandon forever the scene of our childhood, and to sever the most endeared connections, was the desire for a retreat where, free from the agitations of fear and molestation, we could in composure and security approach in worship the God of our fathers.

REALIZATION OF HOPES

Thus far our highest hopes have been realized. Liberia is already the happy home of thousands, who were once the doomed victims of oppression; and if left unmolested to go on with her natural and spontaneous growth; if her movements be left free from the paralyzing intrigues of jealous ambition and unscrupulous avarice, she will throw open a wider and a wider door for thousands, who are now looking with an anxious eye for some land of rest.

I desire to say in this connection that the gate of Liberia is open today for thousands, and I might say millions, of American Negroes. I hold in my hand the original letter from the President of the Republic of Liberia, addressed to President Gordon, of the Peace Movement of Ethiopia, in which President Barclay announces to the world that millions of acres of land in Liberia are now ready and waiting to be set-

tled by American Negroes. He sets out certain terms upon which the Republic will be willing to accept these immigrants. I desire to say that the terms provided for in our bill introduced on this day are more generous and more liberal, and we propose to do more than has been even suggested by President Barclay of the Republic for the immigrants who see fit to go into Liberia.

COURTS, SCHOOLS, AND CHURCHES OPEN TO ALL

Our courts of justice are open equally to the stranger and the citizen for the redress of grievances, for the remedy of injuries, and for the punishment of crime. Our numerous and well-attended schools attest our efforts and our desire for the improvement of our children. Our churches for the worship of our Creator, everywhere to be seen, bear testimony to our piety and to our acknowledgment of His providence. The native African bowing down with us before the altar of the living God, declare that from us, feeble as we are, the light of Christianity has gone forth, while upon that course of curses, the slave trade, a deadly blight has fallen as far as our influence extends.

APPEAL TO NATIONS

Therefore, in the name of humanity, and virtue, and religion; in the name of the Great God, our common Creator and our common Judge, we appeal to the nations of Christendom, and earnestly and respectfully ask them that they will regard us with the sympathy and friendly consideration to which the peculiarities of our condition entitle us and to extend to us that comity which marks the friendly intercourse of civilized and independent communities.

Done in convention at Monrovia, in the county of Montserrado, by the unanimous consent of the people of the commonwealth of Liberia this 26th day of July in the year of our Lord 1847.

In witness whereof we have hereto set our names.

Montserrado County:

S. BENEDICT, President.
H. TEAGE.
ELIJAH JOHNSON.
J. N. LEWIS.
BEVERLY R. WILSON.
J. B. GRIFON.

Grand Bassa County:

JOHN DAY.
AMOS HERRING.
A. W. GARDINER.
EPHRAIM TITLER.

Since County:

R. E. MURRAY.
JACOB W. PROUT,
Secretary to the Convention.

So ends the reading of the declaration of independence adopted by the representatives of the people of the commonwealth of Liberia in convention assembled. The sentiments expressed in this remarkable document may become, with every propriety, the sentiments and expressions of hope and aspiration of more than 2,000,000 American citizens of African descent who have petitioned this Government to aid them in a voluntary migratory movement to Liberia. Its preamble, its statement of the causes leading to their colonization and independence; its lamentation because of the natural rights denied them in the United States; its profound conviction that the west coast of Africa was the place of proper refuge for the disconsolate members of the black race, are in every way applicable to the situation which obtains today with respect to the race's longing and yearning for a freedom denied them under a government conceived and administered by the white man. This declaration of independence should be read and pondered in the home of every citizen of the United States through whose veins flows a single drop of African blood.

Negroes of this country know what it means to have jobs denied them. They know the causes which bring about discriminations in favor of the white man. They understand why they are not permitted to play in the parks; to sit in the theaters, restaurants, hotels, and to ride on the trains and busses and airplanes with the white man. They have read numerous signs saying, "Negro, don't let the sun set on you in this town." They understand that there is a real difference between the opportunities offered them and those bestowed upon the white man.

The Negro appreciates the impossibility of his fulfilling, in this country, the high purposes which education and enlightenment have inspired him to hope for and to long for. No matter which way he turns, he sees evidence of a disparity of opportunity for him and his children. His schools are the

poorest in the country; his housing accommodations are neglected. In Alabama he notes that less than one-eighth of the school funds are allotted to the education of his children, while one-third of the eligible school children are colored. In Georgia he observes that one-third of the children are blood of his blood, while only one-eighth of the school funds are allocated to their education. He has seen South Carolina, with one-half of the school children colored, spend \$642,086 on school busses for white children for 1 year's transportation, and the sum of only \$628 for colored children.

When it comes to jobs, the Negro is in no better condition today than he was immediately after receiving his freedom. The building-trades unions in both the North and the South used divers methods to exclude the Negro. The railroad brotherhoods deny them membership. The Supreme Court may rule that Negro defendants shall not be denied the right of trial by their peers, thus making it obligatory that the names of Negroes should appear upon the jury panel when their life or liberty is in jeopardy, but the Negro still continues to be barred from jury duty or to participate in any matter concerned with public justice. Just to make a feint toward compliance with this ruling of the Court, Negroes are sometimes called for jury service, but they are made to understand by the authorities that they must ask to be excused and accept the fee incidental to the summons. In the city of Washington—often called the Negroes' paradise—Marian Anderson, a Negro woman who has developed some reputation as a singer, was recently denied a request to sing in a Washington public-school auditorium and Constitution Hall, the latter a building owned, I am told, by the Daughters of the American Revolution.

These are only a few of the many thousands of discriminations against members of the Negro race as practiced consistently in this country. These discriminations are not any greater and are no less today than they were the year following the date of the Emancipation Proclamation, or through all the intervening years since their freedom was made a reality, nor will the discrimination be less through succeeding years, or at any time, be it near or far, so long as the white man and the black man occupy the same territory.

In this connection I wish to suggest one good reason why I gave my wholehearted support to the wage and hour law. Before the Civil War the white laboring man of the South had to compete with slave labor, and the poor white man of the South had little chance. After the Negro was freed he was more or less dependent; he was not used to his freedom; he was in desperate straits and was willing to work for any wage. Then the white laboring man of the South had to compete with the Negro freed labor of the South.

The racketeers and industrialists of that section took advantage of the situation, and held the wage scale to the very bottom throughout the years. So the white man of the South suffered just about as much as did the black man. But with the wage and hour law on the statute books, boosting the wage scale in certain industries, which will have a tendency to increase the wage scale in all industry, the white man will receive a wage which will enable him to accept the job which the poor Negro has been filling in the South, because the wage will now be sufficiently high so that the white man can maintain his standard of living in the South. So that the poor Negro who has been having the laboring job heretofore will be out of luck. We will find in the South a great army of millions of Negroes who are going to lose their jobs to white men because the wage scale has been increased.

There is another thing that is causing a grave condition in the South among the Negroes. I refer to the improvement in machinery used on the farm, and especially in the growing of cotton. We now have tractors with which to break the land, without the Negro and the mule. With a machine we lay the land off in rows, without the Negro and the mule. We distribute fertilizer and plant the seed with a machine, without the Negro and the mule. We even have cotton choppers, which do away with the labor of the Negro family. And now we have the mechanical cotton picker. So that the day of the Negro, even on the plantations of the South, is gone.

The white man will take the Negro's job in industry. There are about 8,000,000 Negroes in the South, and being of the South and one of the South, and being a friend of the Negro, I am advocating the passage of the bill I am proposing, so that something can be done to bring relief to the Negro race in the South.

Oh, we are taking care of the Negro in the South now on W. P. A., it is true. The Negroes have left the farms and are congregating in the little towns and cities of the South. They are living 10, 15, 20, sometimes 40 in one room in a house, and Uncle Sam is feeding them through the W. P. A. But that will have to end. I understand a bill is now pending here which provides that the States must contribute one-third of all the W. P. A. money. If that bill should become a law, it would mean there would be no money distributed for the Negro and the poor white man, because the States will not be able to contribute. Many of the Southern States could not make such contributions. Such a provision of law would have the same effect as the vicious, inequitable, unfair, unrighteous, almost criminal, social-security and old-age pension law which has been put on the statute books, which requires the States to contribute one-half of the old-age pension funds.

My State happens to be one of the poorer States. The result is that the old people of my State are receiving only \$2.34 a month from the Federal Government, and a total pension of \$4.79, whereas in the richer States, which are able to match the Federal money under the social-security and old-age pension law, the old people are receiving \$15 a month from the Federal Government, and \$30 altogether, with the State's \$15 contribution.

I do not know who is responsible for that kind of legislation, but just a little more of that sort of laws for the South and for the poorer States and there will be a revolution. I go so far now as to state that if the Democratic Party shall be defeated in 1940, if someone will erect a tombstone, I will write the name of one man who will be largely responsible for the defeat of the party. His name is Altmeyer, and he is the head of the social-security outfit.

As repeatedly stated before, and as proclaimed by all the great students of and authorities on race relations, these two diverse peoples cannot live together upon terms of social and economic equality, and the only solution for the problem is either amalgamation or separation. The whole Nation, both black and white, revolts at the prospect of amalgamation, with the possible exception of a few thousand mulattoes. The Afro-American is just as insistent upon maintaining the purity of his blood, of perpetuating his racial integrity, as the Caucasian is unalterably committed to the proposition of keeping the white man white, and of resisting all customs, practices, and procedures, both in private and in public life, that have a tendency toward ultimate amalgamation.

I am glad to say that with two and a half million Negroes' names on these petitions they are saying, "We are not in favor of amalgamation. We do not want our blood commingled with white blood." I have respect for that class of Negro. But the element of the Negro race headed by Walter White—not all of them, of course, but a great many of them—are amalgamationists, they are miscegenationists. A large percentage of that element want white wives. They want to see white women nursing black babies—their babies. But these petitioners do not want to see any white woman nursing a black baby.

Immediately following the adoption of the declaration of independence by the people of Liberia, in convention assembled, they adopted, on July 26, 1847, a constitution for the Republic of Liberia. I see that the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] has come into the Senate Chamber. I desire especially to ask the Senator from Michigan to read the declaration of independence of the Republic of Liberia. It is one of the great documents of the world. A Negro is its author.

The Constitution of Liberia was closely modeled upon that of the United States. In fact in the establishment of the Republic of Liberia the Negro attempted to adopt the American Constitution in toto. He improved upon the

American Constitution. The Negro in Liberia was just a little smarter than were the Americans who wrote our Constitution in 1787, because the Liberian Constitution says that no man in Liberia can vote unless he has Negro blood in his veins. The Constitution of Liberia says that no man can own land in Liberia unless he has Negro blood in his veins. So, while using our Constitution as a model, the Negro improved on it, and made a better job of it than we did.

Following a preamble declaring that in order to secure certain blessings for themselves and their posterity, and to establish justice, insure domestic peace and promote the general welfare, the people of the Commonwealth of Liberia constitute themselves a free, sovereign, and independent state by the name of the Republic of Liberia. Article I was inserted carrying 20 sections, which constituted the bill of rights. Our Bill of Rights is found in 10 amendments to the Constitution. Then followed article II, defining legislative powers, and article III, Executive powers; article IV, judicial department, and article V, miscellaneous provisions. Under the head of miscellaneous provisions, we find section 13, which reads as follows:

The great object of forming these colonies being to provide a home for the dispersed and oppressed children of Africa, and to regenerate and enlighten this benighted continent; none but Negroes or persons of Negro descent shall be eligible for citizenship in this Republic.

Those Negroes were smart.

As originally written and adopted, this section read:

None but persons of color shall be admitted as citizens of this Republic.

But in May 1907, this clause was amended to read:

None but Negroes or persons of Negro descent shall be eligible for citizenship in this Republic.

"Persons of Negro descent" was intended to qualify for citizenship any person who had Negro blood in his veins. The expression "people of color" was found to be too broad in its application as it could be interpreted to mean all peoples except members of the white race, when the purpose intended to be accomplished was to make eligible for citizenship, only those people who were of African descent, wheresoever on the globe they may be found.

Mr. President, I wish to say to the colored citizens who may hear me today, or who may read my speech, that if they are resettled in Liberia they will have one consolation in knowing that they will not be troubled by the white man. They will not be troubled by a certain race, such as we find in some of the large cities, which makes a specialty of racketeering and exploiting and contaminating the Negroes.

The most gratifying thing I have read in some time had to do with the picketing in Harlem, New York, of stores that are owned by Jews. The Negroes insisted that, since the Jews were going to do the business, some members of the Negro race should be employed in those stores, and the Negroes made it so hot for our Jewish friends that they were forced to give employment to Negro boys and girls in Harlem.

I have taken the time to read some of the revised statutes of the Republic of Liberia, and I was interested to note that they have a law exempting homesteads from taxation. Section 1095 of the law says:

Every family shall be entitled to a homestead which shall be exempt from execution. * * *

Liberia has done better than some of the States of the United States. My State just last year passed the homestead-exemption law.

The exemption herein provided for shall continue as long as any of the heirs of the family shall occupy such homestead.

That is a word of comfort to our colored friends who are planning to go to Liberia. When they acquire homes they will be free from execution or sale.

Section 1098 says:

Any clerk issuing any writ to seize and sell any homestead, and any sheriff who may seize and sell any homestead, or shall attempt to do so, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor.

That legislation is in advance of the legislation on this subject of many of the States of the American Union. Only very few, up to this time, have passed homestead exemption laws.

I was interested further to note that the laws of Liberia provide for the purchase, by the Republic, of school books for the use of the children in the various counties of the Republic. Section 947 of chapter 25 says:

The legislature shall appropriate from time to time moneys for the purchase of primary and elementary school books for the use of the public schools. The Secretary of the Treasury shall draw special warrants to cover such appropriation, and shall make the same payable to the order of the superintendent, who shall purchase such books as may be provided for and distribute the same among the several counties according to law.

By way of recapitulation, it has been observed from this discussion that the American Colonization Society, organized, as before stated, in the United States in the city of Washington in 1817, undertook to colonize American free Negroes in Africa, and sent its first group of emigrants to that country in 1822, and established them as a settlement within the present limits of the Republic of Liberia; that the colonization society purchased practically all the territory that now forms the Republic of Liberia. It has also been shown that the American Government cooperated with the colonization society and from time to time landed its recaptured slaves from vessels engaged in the slave trade in the territory of Liberia, and provided for these recaptured slaves temporary care and sustenance. In addition to the freedmen from America and the recaptured slaves settled there by the American Government, a great many West Indian Negroes found their way also to this new country. The various settlements in Liberia, established under the auspices of the American Colonization Society and the auxiliary State colonization societies, were in the beginning entirely independent of each other—their affairs being managed by agents selected and sent out by the Home Colonization Society.

As time passed on, more and more power was granted to these various settlements by the society, and eventually they were all consolidated under the name of the Commonwealth of Liberia. Then, on July 26, 1847, the colony declared its independence and subsequently adopted a constitution, and became recognized the world over as the Republic of Liberia. The first President of the Republic of Liberia was Joseph Jenkins Roberts, who, at the time of the declaration of independence and the adoption of a constitution, was Governor of the Commonwealth of Liberia, having succeeded Thomas Buchanan, who was the Commonwealth's first Governor. Roberts was five times elected President of the Republic, and he did much toward inducing other countries to recognize Liberia as a free and independent Republic. The Republic flourished far beyond the expectations of its founders during his administration. It was recognized by other nations in the following order: France, Lubeck, Bremen, Hamburg, Belgium, Denmark, the United States, Italy, Sweden, Norway, Holland, Haiti, and Portugal. It has been said that recognition by the United States was delayed because it was pointed out that Washington would be compelled to receive a colored envoy.

About 1 year after the adoption of the constitution, and when the new government was well on its way toward the completion of its labors in setting up and placing in operation the various subdivisions of the Government, the directors of the society and the commissioners of the Republic, on behalf of the American Colonization Society and the Republic of Liberia, in the city of New York, on the 20th day of July 1848, entered into articles of agreement whereby the society ceded all of its public lands within the limits of Liberia to the Republic, subject to 10 provisions, one of which was that when the Government sells any of the public lands, every alternate lot, or farm, or section, or square mile, or miles shall be left unsold to be assigned to emigrants. It was further provided that the tracts reserved for emigrants may, with the assent of the society, be exchanged for others of equal value, or sold and the proceeds devoted to the pur-

poses of education. It was provided also that the society shall retain the right of locating emigrants in any of the present settlements, and that any settlements are to be formed by the concurrence and agreement of the Government of Liberia and the society.

If Senators have time to read my bill, which I hope they will, they will find that I provide that the American Colonization Society, which is still an organization domiciled in Washington, shall have a part in connection with allocation of the lands acquired for the resettlement of Americans in Liberia.

The agreement stipulated that the Government of Liberia should hold the land theretofore appropriated to the Kentucky society for the occupancy of emigrants from that State, the land assigned to the Mississippi society should be held for emigrants from that State, and the Blueberrie land should be assigned to emigrants from the State of Louisiana. These several State societies were auxiliaries of the American Colonization Society. By this agreement the active participation of the American Colonization Society in administering the affairs of the people of Liberia was practically terminated, and only such rights were reserved and such cooperation in the matter of establishing new settlements was permitted as were to be found stipulated in the articles of agreement of July 20, 1848.

In other words, we already have the land in Liberia. It is being held in trust by the Republic of Liberia for the resettlement of American Negroes. My bill provides a way for the American Negroes to take possession of the land and enjoy it.

A while ago I produced a letter from the President of Liberia. He is ready to receive American Negroes. He sets out certain terms, but my bill sets out more gracious and more liberal terms than are set out in the letter from President Barclay.

It may be of interest to know that since I have been working on this problem, through the activities of the Ethiopian League, headed by President Gordon, of Chicago, two commissioners were sent to Liberia to interview the President of Liberia and definitely ascertain whether or not the President of Liberia would be willing to accept the American Negroes if the Congress should pass legislation providing for their settlement in Liberia. I am glad to say that those two commissioners returned from Liberia in January and are in the gallery today. The President of Liberia is ready to receive American Negroes.

Notwithstanding this severance of the ties which had so long bound together the settlements of the Republic and the American Colonization Society, the parent organization continued to keep in touch with the progress and development of the Republic and to cooperate in an unofficial way in directing its destinies and contributing to its growth and development by encouraging those of African descent in the United States to return to their mother country.

Only this morning I was in conference with Colonel West, who is the head of the American Colonization Society in Washington. He has made frequent trips to Liberia and is still working at the job.

Negroes then began to volunteer in great numbers for colonization in Liberia. The American Colonization Society was unable to take care of all who desired to migrate to the new-found land. Not every Negro in whose breast had risen high hopes of migration to his homeland could be transplanted by the Colonization Society. The volunteers were in greater number than the society could accommodate.

In other words, unless we can persuade the Federal Government to carry out the program, it never can be successfully and satisfactorily done. When two and a half million American Negroes, as evidenced by the petitions on my desk, are begging the Congress to give them the opportunity to avail themselves of the land which is now waiting for them, being held in trust by the Republic of Liberia, is it not better sense, is it not better judgment, is it not better business for the Government to pay for their transportation and care until they are well on their way and have been established in their new home? Is it not cheaper and better to care for them

in that way than to let them stay in the United States and keep them indefinitely on the relief rolls?

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GEORGE in the chair). Does the Senator from Mississippi yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania?

Mr. BILBO. I yield.

Mr. DAVIS. How much land has been set aside for this purpose by the Liberian Government?

Mr. BILBO. One and a half million acres were specified as a start; but I am informed that several million acres are waiting, ready, and available.

Mr. DAVIS. As I understand, there is nothing in the Senator's bill which makes it compulsory upon the part of anyone to go to Liberia.

Mr. BILBO. There is not one word, one suggestion, or one intimation anywhere in the bill that suggests force, or power to make any Negro go who does not want to go. In fact, under the provisions of my bill he cannot go unless he expresses a desire to go. He must himself make the application.

Mr. DAVIS. What inducements are offered in the bill for him to go?

Mr. BILBO. The bill offers every inducement in the world in the way of financial support.

Mr. DAVIS. What financial support?

Mr. BILBO. We provide his transportation expenses and his maintenance on the way, and then we set him up with a home. We "grubstake" him. We give him money for furniture. We give him money for supplies. We pay him a dollar a day for a whole year if he is over 12 years of age, and if he is under 12 he receives 50 cents a day until he is able to start operations in his new home in Liberia. I will say to the Senator that in all the history of the world no government has ever made a more magnanimous, more gracious, or more liberal tender to a people seeking another home.

Mr. DAVIS. What would be the per capita cost to the Government?

Mr. BILBO. That question would require a very extended answer; but I think I can satisfy the Senator by stating that the cost of settling Negroes in their fatherland in Africa would be just about one-half the cost of maintaining them on the relief rolls in America.

Mr. DAVIS. Can the Senator give us an estimate of what the cost would be?

Mr. BILBO. Has the Senator read the bill?

Mr. DAVIS. I have read it hastily.

Mr. BILBO. The new bill?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes.

Mr. BILBO. The bill provides that we shall buy 400,000 square miles from France and England, the purchase price of which will be credited upon their war debts. The bill further provides that building materials and supplies necessary for the proper resettlement of the emigrants may be furnished not only by France and England but by any country in Europe which owes us a war debt, and credit will be given for the supplies furnished.

I have always been opposed—as I am sure the Senator has been—to England, France, and other European debtor nations paying the United States in goods, wares, and merchandise, because such a program would be unfair to our own industries and would paralyze our own industries. So the bill provides that the debtors shall pay us in money. They say they do not have the money; but a way is provided by which they can pay. The debtor nations have the land and the supplies and materials to help us carry out the program of resettling the unfortunate race in our midst. The nations which furnish the supplies will receive credit on their war debts. I do not remember the exact details, but my recollection is that the bill provides \$300 for furniture after the emigrant has arrived at the point of settlement, \$300 for something else, so much for his education, so much for his health, and so forth. The total amount involved is about \$700,000 or \$800,000. In addition, those above the age of 12 are to receive compensation of

\$1 per capita per day and those under 12 are to receive 50 cents a day for a period not to exceed 12 months, so as to give them time to become adjusted and organized and ready to go on with the problem of making a living in their new home.

The plan is very gracious; and a Negro who will accept the offer and go to Liberia will be worth more in Liberia, or in the territory we propose to buy, than 90 percent of them are worth in America today.

The situation I have outlined, and the contention by the slave-holding States that because of States' rights the Federal authorities could not aid in the movement, influenced the State of Ohio to propose a program of repatriation known as the Ohio plan. The Legislature of the State of Ohio, through the Governor of that State, sent out a request to the sister free States that the several Governors thereof submit to their respective legislatures a plan for the emancipation and colonization of slaves, the plan to be concurred in by the slave States. This history is necessary in order to place before the country the story of resettlement, and the importance of what we are now trying to do.

This plan got around the question of States' rights, which, it was thought, prohibited Federal support in the movement. Also, the plan originated by the Legislature of Ohio, stipulated that slavery might be carried on in the several States while repatriation was in progress, and that all slaves who did not volunteer to return to their native land should remain as slaves, on the ground that any such individual who did not join members of his own race in the establishment of a new government could not be considered as worthy or deserving of freedom.

I have much the same opinion of a Negro who would not accept the gracious offer of the opportunity which we are now trying to give him to establish a new home in Africa.

It so happened that the free States readily concurred in the Ohio plan, but the slave States refused to accept it. It is claimed by a distinguished author that in reality this was the first schism that occurred between the North and the South on the race question. This division of sentiment on the question of manumission and repatriation of Negro slaves placed the slave States in the most nearly indefensible position they had ever essayed to maintain. Up to this juncture the slave States apparently gave sympathetic consideration to the emancipation idea, but in the last analysis felt inclined to reject it because they feared to liberate in their midst a race whose numbers were equal to, and in most instances greater than, the number of whites. In my own State today there are more Negroes than whites. The people of the slave States were struck with horror at the contemplation of the great tragedy that would necessarily, according to their way of thinking, ensue if millions of untutored and uneducated human beings, just a few degrees advanced above a state of barbarism, should be turned loose in their midst and left free to roam at will, and at the same time be endowed with all the inalienable rights vouchsafed to the white man under the Constitution.

Then, too, there was the question of property rights. They had paid for these slaves in the coin of the realm; they felt, under any scheme of liberation, that they should be compensated for the losses that would follow general emancipation.

No doubt all Senators are aware that the majority of the Negroes of the South had been bought from our northern brethren who engaged largely in the slave trade. Abraham Lincoln never proposed a fairer suggestion in the history of the country than when he offered to compensate the South for the slaves.

Now the Ohio plan came forward and provided for the repatriation of slaves owned by the slave States, who would volunteer to migrate and that the institution of slavery should continue while the process of repatriation was being carried out. This proposition fully met the dangers apprehended from a wholesale liberation of slaves who were to remain in the territory of enslavement. It is true, the compensation idea was not considered in this plan, and it is possible the absence of any proposal in the Ohio plan to remun-

erate the slaveholders for the loss of their slaves contributed to their rejection of the plan. At any rate, the free States in the Ohio plan proposed a program which, if accepted, would have resulted in the establishment in these United States of a purely white nation composed of a white race—an ideal which yet must be attained if this Government is to endure and fulfill its destiny in the development and maintenance of the greatest civilization known to man.

Following the rejection of the Ohio plan a man by the name of William Lloyd Garrison arose and made a vicious attack on the American Colonization Society, claiming that it was merely an instrument of the slave power for removing only troublesome free Negroes from the United States and from the presence of their slaves. He claimed that the real purpose of the society was to make more secure the bondage over the Africans who were already enslaved. It will be recalled that the general plan of the American Colonization Society all along was to repatriate only those Negroes who were free, and those who had happened through some fortuitous circumstance to be made free. Even the slave States now accused the society of collaborating with the Garrisonian abolitionist. These attacks, both by Garrison and the slave power, would have destroyed the colonization movement of the society if the society had not been supported and defended by some of the most eminent men in the Nation. Garrison, in theory, was an advocate of the amalgamation of the two races. He was opposed to repatriation; he was in favor of emancipation, the bestowal of citizenship upon the Negro, and the hybridization of the two races. The Colonization Society, in spite of these attacks, continued to make progress until some 12,000 emigrants or more were established in Liberia. It took the Civil War to suspend its operations. The reconstruction era that followed the Civil War almost destroyed the society as an effective agency for repatriation. Reconstruction politicians were active among the Negroes with their newly acquired freedom, urging them to forget about the establishment of a nation of their own in Liberia and to make ready to appropriate to themselves the lands and properties of their former masters.

Let us now turn to that central figure around which all the incidents of the bloodiest war in history revolved—the immortal, the incomparable Abraham Lincoln. There is not a single doubt in the mind of any reputable historian that the institution of slavery was the direct cause of the Civil War. But for the deportation as slaves of these unfortunate people from the jungles of their native home in Africa to the Atlantic seaboard and finally to the cottonfields of the South, the disruption of the Union would never have been threatened and Robert E. Lee would never have had occasion to make surrender of his army to Ulysses S. Grant. No man of that memorable age was more fully advised as to the causes that were challenging the stability of the Union than was Abraham Lincoln. It is well at this point of our discussion to review the words of this great man in giving voice to his sentiments with respect to the emancipation and repatriation of the Negro race.

It will be noted in the study of his public utterances on this subject that he never spoke of emancipation without coupling with that thought the idea of repatriation. Like Jefferson, it was impossible for him to think of emancipation without uniting with that thought the idea of colonization and repatriation. As it has ever been, from time immemorial, impossible among civilized men to think of Jonathan without associating with that character the name of David, or to think of Damon without at the same time thinking of Pythias, so was it with Jefferson and Lincoln equally as impossible for either to think of emancipation without associating with that idea colonization or repatriation.

In the emancipation proclamation—that immortal document penned by Abraham Lincoln—he said:

I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States and Commander in Chief of the Army and the Navy thereof, do hereby proclaim and declare that . . . it is my purpose upon the meeting of Congress to again recommend . . . the immediate or gradual abolishment of slavery . . . and that the effort to colonize persons of African descent, with their consent, upon the

continent or elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the government existing there, will be continued.

The proposition I am advocating here today was just as important and just as much part of the emancipation proclamation as were the words that set the Negro free. Lincoln tied them together. He says:

And that the effort to colonize persons of African descent, with their consent—

My bill provides that a Negro cannot be transported to Africa unless he gives his consent by filing application indicating his desire to go. Two and a half million Negroes have filed already.

Lincoln says:

upon the continent or elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the government existing there, will be continued.

My bill also so provides.

That on the 1st day of January, in the year of our Lord 1863, all persons held as slaves within any State or any designated part of a State, the people thereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then thenceforward and forever free.

In one single breath the President proclaimed freedom for the slaves and at the same time the effort to colonize them would be continued.

President Grant spent his whole administration in trying to carry out the colonization plan.

The reason some Senators and some other public men are afraid of this question is that they say it is fantastic; that it is a dream; it is a vision; it is too big a job; it cannot be done. Well, here, without any effort on the part of any man in public life to do anything about it, 20 percent of the 12,000,000 Negroes of the United States are now asking that it be done. I am safe in saying that 75 percent of the 12,000,000 Negroes in this country, if contacted and made to understand the gracious proposal we are offering to them in the effort to give them a chance at freedom and an opportunity in life for themselves and their children, would gladly accept the proposition; and the other 25 percent who might not want to go, and do not want to go now, assuming the 75 percent went, would be ready to go, because they would not then have the rank and file of the Negro race to prey upon and to exploit and to racketeer upon. What would the Negro dentist do if all the rank and file of the Negroes moved to Africa? What would the Negro doctor do? What would the Negro undertaker do? And the Negro preachers would be preaching to empty benches. They would go. As soon as the trek was started, the job would be finished.

After having read this document to his Cabinet, and while waiting for a Federal victory before publishing the proclamation to the world, the President assembled a group of free Negroes at the White House and informed them that he was about to enter upon a general program that would solve the race question through the peaceful and voluntary separation of the two races.

As a valuable contribution to this discussion and as a document that more clearly sets forth the views of the President with respect to the future status of the Negro, I quote almost in its entirety his memorable address, delivered in the month of June 1862 to a deputation of free Negroes in the city of Washington. If any Members of the Senate have not had a chance to read this speech of Abraham Lincoln, I think they will find it very interesting. It is as follows:

Why should not the people of your race be colonized?

Lincoln is speaking to the Negroes assembled in the White House.

Why should they not leave this country? This is perhaps the first question for consideration. You and we are a different race. We have between us a broader difference than exists between almost any other two races. Whether it is right or wrong, I need not discuss; but this physical difference is a great disadvantage to us both, as I think your race suffers greatly, many of them by living with us, while ours suffer from your presence. In a word, we suffer on each side. If this is admitted, it shows a reason why we should be separated. You, here, are freemen, I suppose. Perhaps you have long been free for all your lives. Your race are suffering, in my opinion, the greatest wrong inflicted on any people. But even when you cease to be slaves you are yet far removed from being placed on an equality with the white race.

You are still cut off from many of the advantages which are enjoyed by the other race. The aspiration of man is to enjoy equality with the best when free; but on this broad continent not a single man of your race is made the equal of ours.

Not then, not now.

Go where you are treated the best, and the ban is still upon you.

Whether it is in Michigan or in Mississippi.

I do not propose to discuss this, but to present it as a fact with which we have to deal. I cannot alter it if I would. It is a fact about which we all think and feel alike. We look to our conditions owing to the existence of the races on this continent. I need not recount to you the effects upon white men growing out of the institution of slavery. I believe in its general evil effects upon the white race. See our present condition. The country is engaged in war. Our white men are cutting each other's throats, none knowing how far their frenzy may extend; and then consider what we know to be the truth. But for your race among us, there could not be a war, although many men engaged on either side do not care for you one way or the other. Nevertheless, I repeat, without the institution of slavery, and the colored race as a basis, the war could not have had an existence. It is better for us both, therefore, to be separated. I know that there are freemen among you who, even if they could better their condition, are not as much inclined to go out of the country as those who, being slaves, could obtain their freedom on this condition. I suppose one of the principal difficulties in the way of colonization is that the free colored man cannot see that his comfort would be advanced by it.

Like some of the miscegenationists, they cannot now see that they would be better off, but they would be.

You may believe you can live in Washington, or elsewhere in the United States, the remainder of your lives, perhaps more comfortably than you could in any foreign country. Hence you may come to the conclusion that you have nothing to do with the idea of going to a foreign country.

This is Lincoln, still talking to the Negro.

This—I speak in no unkind sense—is an extremely selfish view of the case. But you ought to do something to help those who are not so fortunate as yourselves. * * * For the sake of your race you should sacrifice something of your present comfort, for the purpose of being as grand as the white people in that respect. It is a cheering thought throughout life that something can be done to ameliorate the condition of those who have been subject to the hard usages of the world. It is difficult to make a man miserable while he feels that he is worthy of himself and claims kindred with the great God who made him. In the American Revolutionary War sacrifices were made by men engaged in it, but they were cheered by the future. General Washington himself endured greater physical hardships than if he had remained a British subject; yet he was a happy man, because he was engaged in benefiting his race, and in doing something for the children of his neighbors, having none of his own.

That is Lincoln's speech to these Negroes at the White House. He closed his address with the following words:

The practical thing I want to ascertain is whether I can get a number of able-bodied men, with their wives and children, who are willing to go when I present evidence of encouragement and protection.

Every encouragement and protection on earth is to be thrown around the Negro as he is being resettled in Africa under the provisions of the bill I have introduced.

Could I get a hundred tolerably intelligent men, with their wives and children, and able to "cut their own fodder," so to speak? Can I have 50? If I could find 25 able-bodied men, with a mixture of women and children, good things in family relation, I think I could make a successful commencement. I want you to let me know whether this can be done or not. This is the practical part of my wish to see you. These are subjects of very great importance—worthy of a month's study, instead of a speech delivered in an hour. I ask you, then, to consider this seriously, not pertaining to yourselves merely, not for your race and ours at the present time, but as one of the things, if successfully managed, for the good of mankind—not confined to the present generation, but as—

"From age to age descends the lay
To millions yet to be,
Till far its echoes roll away
Into eternity."

The observations made by President Lincoln in this famous address, delivered at the White House to a deputation of free Negro citizens assembled from many sections of the country, did not spring from immature considerations. nor were they conceived under the pressure of passions generated by the exigencies of war; but they coolly and calmly reflected his judgment on the race problem as frequently enunciated

in the early years of his political life. The address embodied views long entertained by him and arrived at years before the war clouds began to gather—views garnered from a prolonged study of racial inheritances and the ethnological differences between the two most widely diverse races on the globe. Furthermore, because of having been born in the South, he was frequently thrown in immediate contact with the colored race, and through this familiarity and intimacy with this unfortunate people he acquired a knowledge of their traits, their habits, and customs that served him well in the formulation of his policy to colonize the free Negroes of this Republic on the coast of Liberia. No man since the beginning of this Republic was more firmly convinced that this Nation could not survive if the two races were required to live in the same territory and under the same government. That is as true as heaven. As far back as 1836, when Lincoln announced his candidacy for the legislature in the State of Illinois, and when he was only 27 years old, he said:

I stand for admitting all whites to the right of suffrage who pay taxes and bear arms, and by no means excluding females.

Lincoln was a woman suffragist when he was 27 years old.

This was a direct declaration favoring the limitation of suffrage to white people only.

In 1837, while discussing a resolution to the General Assembly of Illinois, Lincoln denied that Congress had power to interfere with slavery, and in doing so employed these words:

The Congress of the United States has no power under the Constitution to interfere with the institution of slavery in the different States.

Lincoln was opposed to social or political equality of the two races and inveighed against the intermarriage of whites and blacks. On this subject he spoke at Charleston, Ill., September 18, 1858, and used these words:

I will say that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races—that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality, and, inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior; and I, as much as any other man, am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race.

When Henry Clay, who for many years had been president of the American Colonization Society, died, Mr. Lincoln, in making a memorial address following the demise of the great compromiser, said:

If as the friends of colonization hope, the present and coming generations of our countrymen shall by any means succeed in freeing our land from the dangerous presence of slavery, and at the same time restoring a captive people to their long-lost fatherland with bright prospects for the future, and this, too, so gradually that neither races nor individuals shall have suffered by the change, it will, indeed, be a glorious consummation. And if to such a consummation the efforts of Mr. Clay shall have contributed, it will be what he most ardently wished and none of his labors will have been more valuable to his country and his kind.

In a debate with Senator Douglas on October 16, 1854, Lincoln voiced sentiments of regret that it was not possible at that time for a sudden freeing and colonization of the Negro. You will notice that he could not say "emancipation," he could not say anything about freeing the Negro, without saying something about colonizing the Negro. The two went together, as they ought to go together.

These were his words:

My first impulse would be to free all the slaves and send them to Liberia, to their own native land, but a moment's reflection would convince me that whatever of high hope (as I think there is) there may be in this, in the long run its sudden execution is impossible.

No one ever dreamed of sending all of our Negro citizens to Liberia or to other parts of Africa in a month, or in a year, or in 5 years. This is a work of possibly a quarter of a century, and it ought to be done in such a slow and gradual way as not to disturb the economic conditions of the

country; and things will adjust themselves as these people are moved out.

Later on in a debate with Senator Douglas on June 26, 1857, Lincoln spoke more encouragingly as to the prospects of being able to bring about the colonization of the Negro. In this speech he employed these words:

Such separation, if effected at all, must be effected by colonization; and no political party, as such, is now doing anything directly for colonization. Party operations at present only favor or retard colonization incidentally. The enterprise is a difficult one—"but where there is a will there is a way," and what colonization needs most is a hearty will. Will springs from the two elements of moral sense and self-interest. Let us be brought to believe that it is morally right, and at the same time favorable to, or at least not against, our interests to transfer the African to his native clime, and we shall find a way to do it, however great the task may be.

I will tell you when this thing will be done. When a few more million Negroes in this country sign the petition asking Congress to give them a chance under the sun in their new home in Africa, there will not be any question about the bill passing.

In his first message to Congress, in December 1861, he proposed to colonize Negroes liberated from persons in arms against the Government—

At some place or places in a climate congenial to them. * * * If it be said that the only legitimate object of acquiring territory is to furnish homes for white men, this measure effects that object, for the emigration of colored men leaves additional room for white men remaining or coming here.

These words, uttered 78 years ago, are as applicable to the situation obtaining here today as they were to the age of Abraham Lincoln.

Mr. Lincoln did not believe that the Declaration of Independence meant that all men were created equal in every respect. In his speech delivered in Illinois in 1858 he made clear his understanding of the Declaration of Independence on this point by saying:

I have said that I do not understand the Declaration of Independence to mean that all men are created equal in all respects. Certainly the Negro is not our equal in color, perhaps not in any other respect. * * * I did not at any time say I was in favor of Negro suffrage. Twice, once substantially and once expressly, I declared against it. * * * I am not in favor of Negro citizenship.

Not any more than the Negroes in establishing their government in Liberia were in favor of white people having citizenship in their republic.

In President Lincoln's second annual message to Congress, submitted in December 1862, he emphasized the fact that colonization would settle forever the Negro problem.

There are two ways in which it might be settled—either separate them physically or let them remain here and amalgamate with them. Everyone is on one side of the fence or the other. Lincoln said:

Our strife pertains to ourselves and not to the passing generation of man, and it can, without convulsions, be hushed forever with the passing of one generation.

Following this observation, he then proposed an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and because the right of Congress to appropriate money for colonization purposes had been challenged he submitted this observation:

Congress may appropriate money and otherwise provide for colonizing free colored persons with their own consent in any place or places without the United States.

Again, in the same second annual message, he said:

Reduce the supply of black labor by the colonization of the black laborer out of the country, and by precisely so much you increase the demand for, and the wages of, white labor.

I have heard many of the statesmen here repeatedly declare that we have problems which will stay with us; that we will always have unemployment; that because of this being a machine age and because of the exhaustion of new frontiers, our employment rolls will decrease. Then why not adopt Lincoln's theory of handling the question? It will cost less to handle it in that way, and the Negro is asking that we do it, and do it for him.

If Lincoln's advice had been heeded at the time it was given, and the supply of labor in the South had been reduced by the colonization of the black laborer, the South today would not be featured throughout the Republic as the Nation's economic problem No. 1. As Lincoln stated, the colonization of the black laborer in that section would have increased the demand for, and the wages of, white labor; just in the same proportion the supply of black labor would have been reduced.

From a careful study of these limited excerpts from the writings and public utterances of President Abraham Lincoln, it is adequately demonstrated that he did not suddenly jump at conclusions with respect to racial separation. His philosophy of the race problem was gradually developed and slowly reasoned out from the time he was 27 years old, and a candidate for the Legislature in the State of Illinois, to the day when he issued the Emancipation Proclamation. I wish again here to emphasize by repeating the fact that through all his efforts to colonize persons of African descent, he never proposed any plan for the liberation of the slaves that was not coupled with his scheme for colonization. Embodied in the emancipation proclamation itself was the solemn pledge that his efforts would be continued to colonize the slaves when liberated from their state of bondage. It has been shown that the President did continue his efforts by recommendations to Congress, providing for colonization; by attempting to obtain land upon which free Negroes might be settled; by at one time devising plans for compensated emancipation of the slaves; by obtaining an appropriation from Congress with which to begin colonization, and by an official request to the Congress for a constitutional amendment to sustain his colonization program. He considered the emancipation proclamation as a war measure, and that colonization was a post-war measure, the purposes of both being, the one the saving, and the other the perpetuation of the Union. He deemed the emancipation proclamation not only as an instrument designed for preserving the Union by destroying the slave power, but as also an act that would expedite his long-advocated concept of racial separation. He reasoned that when 4,000,000 slaves had been given their freedom in the Southland, and that when the war subsequently had been won by the armies of the Republic, the slaveholding power of the South, defeated in battle and confronted with the presence of 4,000,000 ignorant free men, unaccustomed to and incapable of exercising the duties and responsibilities of intelligent citizenship, would immediately join hands with the free States of the Union in a unified effort to bring about the complete riddance of a race that seriously threatened the political existence not only of the Southland, but of the Nation as a whole. So it happened that, when conscious that the war for the preservation of the Union had been won, he commissioned Gen. W. F. Butler, in the month of April 1865, to inquire into and give his views as to whether the Negroes could be exported.

At this juncture, Lincoln was assassinated, and until this day the hope, the dream, the aspiration of the great Emancipator has never been fulfilled.

Two of the greatest lights in the bright galaxy of all the stars that are set in the political firmament of this Republic, namely, Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln, have entertained the same concepts and ideals with respect to the solution of the Negro problem, and one of the saddest commentaries on the lives and achievements of these illustrious leaders is that the most priceless of the numberless ideals they have championed and defended has, through all succeeding years, remained an unaccomplished reality.

On the banks of the Tidal Basin here in Washington there is today being erected a memorial to Thomas Jefferson, commemorating—in time-defying granite—his contribution to the establishment, on everlasting foundations, of the greatest Republic known to civilized man. Already, on the banks of the mighty Potomac—in impressive grandeur—stands a monument done in imperishable stone commemorating the contribution of Abraham Lincoln to the preservation of the Union. Strange, is it not, that the people of this Nation should

thus befittingly honor these heroic men for the incomparable services they have rendered—the one laying wisely and well the foundations of a new world democracy, and the other effecting, at a crucial moment of disintegration, the preservation of that democracy; and that they should at the same time reject, in these memorials, the cornerstone which represented the culminating ideals of both, namely, if this Nation is to endure under God, the separation of the two races and the colonization in Liberia of all citizens of African descent must be accomplished. One should be pardoned for indulging the hope that this rejected stone shall become the keystone of the arch in the construction of the Jefferson Memorial.

Jefferson and Lincoln, along with others who have devoted effective research and prolonged study to the Negro race problem, are in practical unanimity upon a three-way solution of this problem—social and political equality, resulting in amalgamation; complete segregation in this country, extending somewhat remotely the time of effectual amalgamation; and repatriation—the only remedy to be adopted that will preserve the civilization of the Caucasian race, and afford an opportunity for the Negro race to develop a civilization of its own.

I endeavored on a previous occasion, May 24, 1938, to stress the importance of reviewing and weighing, in every detail, the racial concepts of Jefferson and Lincoln, and took occasion to say that the time had arrived when this Government and those who make and execute its laws can no longer afford to ignore the accumulated wisdom of the past; to be oblivious of the teachings of history and of the warnings and admonitions of the most illustrious and renowned patriots of the past—the teachings and prophecies of those great and unselfish souls who have steered successfully thus far the destinies of this Republic.

What strange and inexplicable processes governing the mysterious workings and operations of the human mind have we fallen upon in this modern age that we cannot accept, without doubts and misgivings, the teachings and philosophies which have become our heritage as handed down to us by our great statesmen, our scientists, and recognized authorities on race culture and hereditary and social values.

It is inconceivable that any of the foremost leaders of our time should so willingly accept the fundamental principles of our Government, the basic foundations upon which rests the superstructure of our political system and the western civilization it has developed, and at the same time refuse to be guided and motivated by the men who framed and preserved for us that self-same Government, and who, while doing so, clearly and unanimously laid down the dictum that nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that "the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government," and that "there is a physical difference between the white and the black races which will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality."

Especially is this fact all the more incomprehensible when the sentiments they so wisely and so well expressed have been caught up and echoed and reechoed through all the succeeding years by others no less capable, who severally, in their turn, laid hand upon the helm of state and guided with prudence and wisdom its continuing and upward course. Nor were they alone, as if in the wilderness, in their cry for redemption and deliverance from the unspeakable horrors of impending blood pollution, amalgamation, and hybridization. The bravest and the best from all sections of our common country have helped to hold high the danger signal so that the car of human progress might proceed to its destined goal without Caucasian casualty, Ethiopian extermination, or slow and imperceptible or cataclysmic disintegration of our boasted civilization.

Unquestionably, the devotion of the people of this Nation to Abraham Lincoln is sincere, but, regardless of that sincerity, the endorsement of the full and complete plan of his high purposes and noblest aspirations is withheld. The

most generous reason that can be offered for failure of his devotees to follow him in his ideas no further than emancipation and the grave is that they have lost sight of his ultimate purpose—his definite goal. Every citizen who professes a devout respect for the great emancipator owes it to the memory of this sainted man, as well as to himself, to work for the consummation of his interrupted purpose. That which the assassin's bullet prevented Lincoln from accomplishing should be the mark at which those of us who have followed him should aim. Human justice, racial pride, and self-preservation cry out in a tearful plea that Lincoln's legacy be not dishonored; that the great project of colonization, following emancipation, which he had formulated, be not terminated in Ford's Theater.

Lincoln sacrificed his very life for his first step in emancipation, and whoever cooperates in taking the final step, whoever helps to complete his unfinished project by providing for the voluntary repatriation of the American Negro, will earn the everlasting gratitude of two self-respecting races and enable the spirit of Lincoln to rest content. No repatriation movement can be conducted without the name of Abraham Lincoln being associated with it. The part he played in setting the stage for the voluntary exodus of the downtrodden race should be repeated until it is known and understood by all men who seek a happy and permanent solution of the race problem. Like a theme song, it should be heard in the nature of a Negro spiritual running through the halls of Congress and wherever men are assembled to direct and determine the course of empires. It should be repeated in the ears of the listening world until every thought of Lincoln suggests his unfinished dream. It should be repeated here, within these walls, until, resonant with his long silenced voice, they may be made to intone unceasingly these words:

Without the institution of slavery and the colored race as a basis, the war could not have had an existence. It is better for us both, therefore, to be separated. * * * I do not understand the Declaration of Independence to mean that all men are created equal in all respects. * * * I am not, and never have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with whites. * * * There is a physical difference between the black and white races which, I believe, will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality.

Those immortal words of Lincoln should be written into the minds and hearts of every American citizen.

Abraham Lincoln fell a martyr to his ideals before they could be achieved. Abraham Lincoln—the noblest friend the colored man ever had—was deterred by the assassin's bullet from giving him a liberation far surpassing that afforded by emancipation—namely, a home in a congenial clime in the land of his fathers where he could, under the guidance and protection of this Government, work out for himself a civilization and a culture to the full limit of his racial endowments and the acquisitions in point of training and development gained from his sojourn in America. How easy it is to visualize his sympathetic spirit today standing on the sidelines in sad contemplation of his shattered ideals; of a work half completed, viewing, with profound commiseration, the black man to whom he had given freedom, still without freedom, stranded, as it were, on an unfriendly shore and at the mercy of misguided agitators, today, as in 1865, who seize every opportunity to exploit him for private gain. Who is there, among the Members of this most exclusive body in the world, who will hesitate to join with two and one-half million people of African descent in a united effort to bring about the ultimate completion of Abraham Lincoln's self-imposed task?

Following the death of President Lincoln, the reconstruction era began, and through the efforts of reconstruction politicians migrating from the North into every nook and corner of the South, the activities of the American Colonization Society were paralyzed and the movement it had inaugurated so long ago became more or less devitalized.

The carpetbagger of those days, like the Communist of this day, impregnated the Negro brain with the idea that he should abandon the effort of establishing a Negro nation

in a foreign land and become reconciled to his manifest destiny, which was to take over the lands and properties of his former slave owners, and also to make ready to seize the reins of government. The same idea, in slightly modified form, is being advanced by the Communists who are active in organization work among the Negroes of the South, urging them to demand all the rights made secure to the white man under the Constitution, and assuring them of the assistance of the Communists in a united effort to take over the black belt of the South, politically and otherwise. They have been encouraged by these Communists to believe that they can take possession of the farms and the industries now owned by the white people, called the capitalistic class.

Earl Browder, in a report to the New York convention of the Communist Party, on June 24, 1936, said:

Significant progress has been made in building a united front of struggle for Negro liberation. The Negro people have learned to expect and demand from Communists the greatest sensitivity to their problems; the greatest energy in their defense; the greatest solidarity in their struggles.

In the testimony of Walter S. Steele, before the Dies committee investigating un-American propaganda activities in the United States, we find on page 321 in a volume carrying his testimony exclusively, these words:

The Communists promise Negroes self-determination in the black belts of the country. These belts are indicated by maps and, of course, include the districts heaviest populated by the Negroes. Communists promise them confiscation of land and industries from the white owners and the turning over of them to the Negroes.

On page 323 of his testimony, Mr. Steele further stated:

In the South those who join the Communist movement realize that such a change in sentiment as the Communists plan, if it could be brought about, will give them actual domination in such States as South Carolina and Mississippi, where Negroes are numerically superior, and could use their votes to especially good advantage. To many southern Negroes, therefore, the cunningly devised picture of social and political equality is a vision of the promised land. They are told that the plantations now belonging to the members of the white race will be divided up and given to them. In Russia members of the Negro race do not have social equality. The friendship of the Communist leaders for members of the southern colored race is purely hypocritical.

In June of 1938, less than 1 year ago, the Communists held their first all-southern conference of the Communist Party, in Chattanooga, Tenn. One hundred and thirty-three delegates, it is claimed, assembled in this city from all parts of Dixie to hear Earl Browder, the national secretary of the Communist Party, and James W. Ford, head of the Negro section of the same party. According to the further testimony of Steele, on page 324 of the Dies committee hearings, it was the expressed determination of this meeting to carry forward the Red penetration of the South during the next 12 months with renewed vigor. He further stated:

It is the announced purpose of the meeting to accelerate the work of the Communists in the South, looking toward votes for the Negroes and the organization of more powerful labor unions in the South. It is to be remembered—

He said—

that when the "reds" mention unions they are not referring to labor organizations but to organizations which will agitate for the class struggle which will make America over as a Communist state.

Therefore the hypocrisy of the Communists of our time finds its prototype in the hypocrisy and deceit of the carpet-bagger during the reconstruction period.

At the very height of the demoralizing situation that prevailed soon after the Civil War another outstanding Repatriationist arose in the person of Henry McNeil Turner, a Negro born at Abbeyville, S. C. He encouraged his race to achieve race progress through race nationality as other races had done. Turner entered the ministry and became a bishop in the African Methodist Episcopal Church. He had attracted the attention of President Lincoln, who appointed him Army chaplain for the first colored troops used in the Union Army. Following the close of the war he was sent with the reconstruction forces to Georgia, but resigned his commission and returned to the ministry. The reconstruction crowd was too hot for him. Bishop Turner was well aware of the fact that

the race problem would continue as long as white women bred white children and Negro women bred Negro children. In answer to the carpetbagger's promise to the freedman of the plantation formerly owned by his master, Bishop Turner claimed that the Negro would more likely secure 400 acres of land and a hippopotamus in Africa than he would get 40 acres and a mule in America.

When the argument was advanced that the Negro could profit in this country by the achievements of the whites, and that there was no need for racial and national independence, he proclaimed that "freedom for racial initiative is a prerequisite for racial progress and in this respect the Negro would be better off in hell than in the United States."

Some Negroes are finding that out, and conditions are going to become worse.

Bishop Turner was as firmly committed to the policy of repatriation as the only solution of the Negro problem as any of the leading statesmen, scientists, and ethnologists of his time. Very definitely in line with the racial concepts of both Jefferson and Lincoln, he insisted that by separation he did not mean that everyone should go, or must go, but that there should be given or granted an opportunity for the departure of such black men and women as are self-reliant, and as are willing to go. He said further:

This Nation, or its aggregated people, will either have to open a highway to Africa for the discontented black man, or the Negro will flounder this Government.

I cannot close these remarks about Bishop Turner without including a letter that he wrote when an old man to W. P. Pickett, who was then preparing a publication entitled "The Negro Problem—Abraham Lincoln's Solution." This letter, under date of January 12, 1907, reads as follows:

I pray God that you will continue in the great work in which you are engaged and move this country to help the Negro to emigrate to the land of his ancestors. I have visited that continent as often as I have fingers on my hand, and it is one of the richest continents under heaven in natural resources. Millions of colored people in this country want to go. Give us a line of steamers * * * and let us pay as much as the million or more white immigrants pay coming from Liverpool, London, and Hamburg to this country, and the Negroes will leave by thousands and by tens of thousands—yes, by millions.

The question of colonizing the Negro or of separating the two races has been almost continuously agitated throughout the past century. The various proposals to accomplish this end are not characterized by any essential differences. The question of location furnished the principal basis upon which opinions widely differed. One group of colonizationists recommended that unoccupied territory held by the United States should be set apart exclusively for the colonization of Negroes. Just recently there was a movement in Chicago to organize a forty-ninth State by taking parts of certain large Western States, such as Colorado and others, and forming a State where none except Negroes could go. Another group favored the removal of Negroes to some part of the Western Hemisphere not owned and not likely to be owned by the United States. However, the most serious considerations have been entertained by the group which proposed to repatriate citizens of the United States, of African descent, to Africa, more especially to the Republic of Liberia.

Following the death of Bishop Henry McNeil Turner, Marcus Garvey, a Negro born in Jamaica, took up the movement of repatriation; and during the course of his activities he developed into the most powerful and effective advocate of race integrity and race nationality that this country or any other country has ever known. We are told by authorities who have devoted effective study to the labors of Garvey on behalf of the Negro race that he was a man of good education, and that in his youth he brooded long over the disadvantages suffered by his race. He organized a Universal Negro Improvement Association. He stressed the importance of blood integrity and race nationality. He spoke in a language that stirred the deep desire of the race for these essentials. Garvey's organization became international. It developed into a vast empire of workers devoted to the achievement of economic progress through racial integrity and race nationality. It is said that the membership

of the organization at one time exceeded 6,000,000. Its membership came from many foreign countries, as well as from the States of the Union.

Garvey was the first repatriationist who succeeded in gaining to any appreciable degree the attention of the American press. As stated by Mr. Earnest Sevier Cox, this organization, in a plan to aid Liberia, believed that it had acquired certain rights in that country, and sent out a shipment of goods of the value, it is said, of \$50,000, when the Liberian end of the agreement was rescinded.

At about this time other American citizens were successful in acquiring holdings in Liberia; but these other Americans, not being of Negro descent, could not become citizens of Liberia or hold title to its land. The Firestone Tire & Rubber Co. has \$90,000,000 invested in a rubber plantation in Liberia on leased land. This obstacle was overcome by leasing a million acres of Liberian land for a period of 99 years. Garvey opposed the white man's occupation of Africa through the seizure of Liberian lands on long leases. He advocated the doctrine of "Africa for the Africans," and decried the white man seizing Negro Africa and holding its people in subjection there, as the white man had done elsewhere.

Garvey's enemies were legion. More especially he was stubbornly fought by the Negroes in the United States who favored amalgamation—the blending of the blood of the two races. Notwithstanding this formidable opposition, more forcefully felt through the activities of the N. A. A. C. P., Garvey succeeded in gaining a powerful hold upon the group of the Negro race which may be designated as "Afro-Americans," practically full-blooded Negroes.

Garvey made an effort to finance the Black Star Line of steamships to be used to carry Negro emigrants to Africa and to develop trade among Negro people. This unfortunate enterprise resulted in temporarily arresting his repatriation movement. He was convicted of having fraudulently used the mails to sell stock in the Black Star Line. His conviction took place just before the economic collapse known as the depression. The presiding judge denominated him as an impractical dreamer, afflicted with a Messianic complex, and considered that the innocent Negroes of the country should be protected against the vagaries and impractical schemes of the repatriation idealist.

It may be true that Garvey sold stock in the Black Star Line. It may be true that the Black Star Line went to pieces as an investment. However, there was no more reason for penalizing Garvey for selling that kind of stock than there was for penalizing bankers who flooded the country with Peruvian bonds and other bonds which were sold through the mails and which were just as worthless as the stock in Garvey's Black Star Line.

In passing, it may be well to note that shortly after Garvey's conviction multiplied millions of dollars' worth of stock issued by so-called practical men—men free from the hallucinations of a Messianic complex—proved to be as worthless as the stock in the Black Star Line. President Coolidge commuted Garvey's sentence; but since he was an alien he was automatically exiled from the United States. His imprisonment deprived him of further active leadership in the great organization he had founded. His largest group of followers was located in the United States; and because of his alienation he was powerless to carry on the great movement of repatriation.

When we consider that Garvey's work was terminated by a court conviction and subsequent deportation, we find cause for discouragement among his followers. However, the chief value of his labors lay in the quickening of a race consciousness and in the birth among his followers of a new hope for racial integrity and Negro nationality. For this service he could not be adjudged in violation of law by any court in the world, while on the other hand he was denominated a benefactor of the human race at the bar of enlightened public opinion.

The most significant thing about the achievement of Garvey is that notwithstanding the collapse of his colonization program at the zenith of its popularity, notwithstanding

the loss of considerable sums of money invested by the members of his race, notwithstanding his conviction and imprisonment, followed by deportation from the country in which he had established his great organization—notwithstanding all these things and more, the movement he had originated did not die with the passing of its founder. The longing for economic freedom and progress, the yearning for the establishment of negro nationality, the burning desire to make secure racial integrity that Garvey had implanted in the souls of millions of Afro-Americans, survived. He definitely succeeded in establishing the fact that there is an overmastering impulse, a divine afflatus among the mass of Negroes of the United States for a country of their own and a government administered by themselves. Garvey was the greatest of the Negro publicists, and the most conspicuous organizer of his race.

In the wake of the Garvey movement there has appeared a new movement, unaided by the publicity of the press, which has for its purpose a single idea—to return people of African descent to their motherland, Africa. It was to be known as a "peace movement." President M. M. L. Gordon, of the Peace Movement, is a woman of marvelous courage and determination. She is successfully carrying on where Garvey left off. She has breathed new life into the cause of Negro repatriation. Through her efforts a giant memorial has been presented to the President of the United States calling for the return of people of African descent to their motherland, Africa.

I now submit the letter which President Gordon wrote to me, in which was enclosed a copy of the memorial prepared by the Peace Movement of Ethiopia. Before reading the letter I wish to say that the names of more than 2,000,000 of the petitioners which came to me were the result of the efforts of the organization led by President Gordon, of Chicago. Fifty-eight thousand more came to me through the efforts of the heads of organizations of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, which was originally founded by the Garvey organization. They are all working together for the one end, one purpose, one goal.

In 1938 I received this letter from President Gordon:

We thank you for your interest shown in our petition—

I think she meant "bill."

THE PEACE MOVEMENT OF ETHIOPIA—ONE GOD, ONE COUNTRY, ONE PEOPLE—TO RETURN PEOPLE OF AFRICAN DESCENT TO THEIR MOTHERLAND, AFRICA

CHICAGO, ILL., February 2, 1938.

DEAR SIR: We thank you for your interest shown in our petition. In your speech against the antilynch bill, three points are drawn as follows:

1. Draw the color line.
2. Set the race in some island in the sea.
3. Send them back to Africa.

Those are the proposals that I developed in the 4 days' speech against the antilynching bill, and she boils them down.

Your third solution is highly endorsed by the 1,000,000 members of the Peace Movement of Ethiopia. This will not alone settle the race problem in America, but will also solve the problems of unemployment,—problems which threaten the very foundations of the tranquility of this Nation.

There are millions of us who abhor alms, both private and public. We know that in our ancestral country we can carve a frugal but decent civilization of our own in that favorable climate and virgin soil.

These are the words of the leader of this great organization—a woman:

This organization is made up of the industrial masses, farmers, and men of skill, and in the land of our forefathers we will not only make a living for ourselves but will be free from race prejudice and discrimination.

We highly approve your opposition to the mixture of the two races, for we, likewise, detest the same thing. For a long period of time the mixing of the two races came from one side, the white man and the colored woman. But now it is coming from both sides.

Let me digress here to remark that statistics show that there are today over 20,000 Negro boys and Negro girls annually crossing the color line. I mean by "crossing the color

line" that the Negro boy, say, is a mulatto and looks white, so that he gets by; he goes where he is not known, and marries a white girl, and the mulatto, or white-colored girl, goes where she is not known and marries a white man. There are 20,000 of them annually. By our indifference are we going to favor amalgamation in this country?

Since communism has established itself in this country, it is quite common to see a white woman rocking a black baby. We positively resent the mixture from either side and the only way to stop it is to separate the two races. We hope you will continue to push to the top this deportation measure, for this, and this alone, will save both your race and mine.

There are several million of us who will go back to Africa by our own consent.

As evidenced by this petition.

When the masses are once sent away, the oppositionists—

That is, the "high brows," the Negro intelligentsia—

which are the classes, will be forced to follow. They cannot exploit the white people as they do their own. We, the million members of the Peace Movement of Ethiopia, solicit your support on this plan. We are enclosing a copy of our memorial, sent to President Roosevelt on November 14, 1933. We will be glad to hear from you at your own convenience. Our signatures are growing rapidly.

Respectfully,

THE PEACE MOVEMENT OF ETHIOPIA,
MRS. M. M. L. GORDON, President,
EDMOND HOLLIDAY, Secretary.

Senator THEODORE G. BILBO,
United States Senator from Mississippi,
The Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

Those are the sentiments of the heads of this organization who make this appeal to be sent to Africa.

I now direct the attention of the Senate to the memorial, the one I have before me being a copy of the one sent to the President of the United States, and which today bears actually a little over two and a half million names.

A MEMORIAL

Whereas the Congress has empowered the President to exercise his judgment in the present crisis in a manner suited to the exalted office and provided him with the means to execute his plans for the amelioration of distress and the restoring of normalcy; and

Whereas the distress of the unemployed is most severely felt by such of the uneducated American Negroes who abhor alms, both public and private, in any guise; and

Whereas the removal of a half million of the poorest from a competitive labor market, at this time, would tend to relieve to that extent the condition and opportunities of the remainder;

Therefore we, the subjoined signatories, American citizens of African extraction, individually and collectively, join in respectfully petitioning the President to consider our proposal, confident that his conclusions will be for the best interests of our families and of the community at large.

WHO WE ARE

They undertake to tell the President who they are.

We desire to make it clear, first of all, that this is not a "racket" or scheme for the enrichment or self-glorification of any group or individual. The signatories pay no dues or other fees and the officers of the Peace Movement of Ethiopia serve entirely without pay, meeting their expenses wholly out of their own meager resources. Nor do our plans involve the taking over of any Government funds. We propose that the Federal Government itself meet directly such initial expenditures as launching of adopted plans involved.

We are of the so-called North, most of us having been driven from a cruel and avowedly intolerant South to the cities and towns of the Middle West, "the bread basket of America," without a just opportunity to earn a livelihood in our abject new state. We are the simple-minded, sincere, lowly, law-abiding workers who have maintained traditions of simple honesty, industry, and frugality as much from choice as from necessity. Few of us have any education, but we have learned not to heed the blandishments of self-seeking politicians, impostors, and the unworthy and undesirable products of a hectic civilization that is foreign to our nature.

We recognize the fact that there are exploiting elements in partisan politics, in industry and commerce, and even among our own people, who oppose the movement laid before the President hereinafter. But the wreckage of cupidity and intrigue strewed the spectacular path of our race wherever a concerted movement for our betterment has fallen prey to crafty leadership in the past. We have avoided even our own self-seeking racial leaders.

We have a vivid realization of the hardships and toll that the fruition of our plans in a strange land entails. But we are inured to toll, and the ultimate goal of social and economic freedom gives us heart to welcome the hardships for our children's sake.

For these reasons we are not sponsored by self-styled leaders and come before the President unheralded but with alert minds and clean, calloused hands. Should the President require further information about our numbers, our need, our earnestness, and fitness for the proposed undertaking, we entreat him to seek such information among those who hold themselves in readiness to join in the execution of the plans hereinafter proposed.

WHAT WE ASK

We were torn from our original homes and kindred people against our will; but the pride of ancestry and homing instinct survive the whip and social ostracism; they are as strong in our bosom as they are in the hearts of other races. We fully understand that social and political equality of races is as repugnant to the dominant race in America as it is to the dominant races elsewhere in the world. Yet race consciousness and contempt for previous servitude bid fair always to oppose each other at the behest of those who trade on them. The ever-possible bloodshed is as abhorrent to our stricken people as it is to other law-abiding citizens.

Hungry, cold, and miserable, the pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness in America appears futile. Given an opportunity in our own ancestral Africa, the knowledge of farming and simple farm machinery and implements, which we have acquired here, would enable us to carve a frugal but decent livelihood out of the virgin soil and favorable climate of Liberia, or such other well-disposed country, where the Federal Government, in its wisdom, might acquire a footing for us.

We most respectfully ask that the Federal Government negotiate with the Liberian Government for such land as existing treaty rights entitle us to, sufficient to colonize the entire body of the signatories hereto and finance the movement to the extent desirable for ultimate success. The details of our projected plans have been worked out tentatively, subject to the revision of a benign government.

We respectfully ask that the President graciously have this matter investigated now, with a view to fulfilling the expressed desires of Abraham Lincoln in this respect. We are a liability now and any cost of this project, no matter how great, would still, we sincerely believe, be a sound investment for the American people. We might require a guidance of some of the Departments of the Federal Government, for a brief period, but even if that be denied us, we could acquit ourselves with credit to the land of our tutelage, provided only the material aid is supplied to meet the first financial and mechanical requirements. A selective army of pioneers can be recruited from our ranks for the preparatory work on the ground.

We have no utopian dreams of elevating the entire Negro race, no disconcerting requests in behalf of those Afro-Americans who prefer to remain here. We submit only what we consider a practical and practicable remedy for an acute ailment of American social and economic life. We, the subjoined and accompanying signatories, merely ask respectfully that we be eliminated from an overcrowded labor market and given a helping hand in establishing such social and economic independence as we are fitted for—establishing it where it will give no offense and where it may serve as an object-lesson to tempt those who remain.

The colonial activity of America has always been based on benevolent paternalism, and we respectfully ask that this administration interest itself in like manner in behalf of those Africans whose forebears were brought here forcibly and who are now stranded here amid uncongenial surroundings.

We await the call.

THE PEACE MOVEMENT OF ETHIOPIA,
Mrs. M. M. L. GORDON, *President*.
EDMOND HOLLIDAY, *Secretary*.

THE PRESIDENT.

The White House, Washington, D. C.

Dated at Chicago, Ill., November 15, 1933.

Let me say, in response to that memorial to the President, which is to the Congress as well, and to the Government as a whole, that I am impressed with the fact that this Government has been very liberal to persons who are not truly Americans. We have only to remind ourselves of what we have done for Cuba, what we are still doing for Cuba, what we have done for the Puerto Ricans, what we have done for the Hawaiians, and for the Filipinos. Today we are penalizing our own beet and cane-sugar makers for the benefit of the Cuban sugar grower and for the benefit of the Puerto Rican; yet these people, our own citizens, are asking that something be done for them.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has stubbornly fought every movement having for its purpose either the segregation of the white and black races in the United States, or the repatriation of the Negro race to Africa. The fact is, this organization is definitely and unmistakably committed to the principle of amalgamation. Marcus Garvey has written, since his deportation, that despite the opposition of the United States Government—referring to the court sentence that resulted in his forced

return to his native country—and the Society for the Advancement of Colored People, more than a million Negroes had signed up, and were ready, willing, and anxious, under his plan of repatriation, to take ships for Africa. It is said that when Garvey spoke to the Negroes of New York, at the time of the greatest popularity of his movement, not a hall in that great city was large enough to contain the crowds that desired to hear him.

Just a short while ago I received a telegram from a leader of the Negroes in New York saying that a mass meeting of 10,000 persons had endorsed the bill I am introducing.

The N. A. A. C. P., because of having as Garvey declared, put him in the penitentiary through the decision of a judge presiding at his trial who was a member of the Society for the Advancement of Colored People, capitalized the failure of the Garvey program by proclaiming to the world that amalgamation was the preferred solution because the repatriationist's theory had been stranded upon the rocks for lack of support of the white race, and that now, in no distant future, the two races will merge through slow gradations into a mulatto type, or a brown race.

This week I received from a Negro educator in Kentucky a letter in which he said that in 75 years we would not have any race problem. In other words, he has been led to believe that the process of amalgamation will be so rapid that the race problem will be settled in 75 years. I admit that the process is rather speedy.

With Garvey exiled, and Gordon for so long a time ignored, the amalgamationists felt confident that a permanent victory had been won, and that a mulatto race would develop without appreciable opposition by the whites or the full-blooded Negroes. Strange to say, there are not many white people who are aware of a divided opinion among the Negroes on the subject of amalgamation. As a rule it is assumed by the whites that all Negroes prefer to lose their race identity by a mixture of the blood of the two races. This is untrue, as is clearly shown by the resolution prepared by the peace movement under the direction of President Gordon, and delivered to the President, and to which memorial there are subscribed the names of more than a million Afro-Americans. As evidenced by this memorial and the letter accompanying it that President Gordon addressed to me in February, and as further evidenced by the teachings of a long list of eminent Negro leaders, the Negro is as capable of experiencing pride in his race, and of fostering an innate desire to stand alone and apart in a unified effort to attain race nationality, and thereby preserve racial inheritance, as other races have shown ability to accomplish similar purposes.

The memorial signed and sent to President Roosevelt by President Gordon, of the Peace Movement, served to threaten again the security felt by the amalgamationists. They are beginning to recognize this gigantic movement of repatriation, revitalized by the indomitable spirit and unflinching courage and determination of President Gordon, as another Banquo's ghost appearing upon the scene of action. President Gordon's plan does not contemplate an enforced exodus. It seeks to provide an opportunity, through Federal aid, for transportation and settlement in another land of only those American citizens of African descent who are willing to go. It is wholly voluntary. Certain reasons are cited showing the advisability and desirability of the American Negro seeking an opportunity to demonstrate to the world that he is capable, if given proper encouragement through Federal aid, of establishing a government of his own under which he will be privileged to enjoy all the rights—political, social, and economic—that are denied him when forced to live under a system of government controlled and administered by any other race.

President Gordon regards with horror the sight of white women rocking black babies in this country. You have seen it in Harlem, Mr. President. Since communism has been active in establishing itself in this Republic, she regards with grave apprehension the strong tendency in certain sections, among certain organizations, to bring about the amalgamation of the two races.

The question of unemployment in this country is not overlooked by this great leader of the Negro race when she says:

The peace movement to Ethiopia will not alone solve the race problem in America but will also solve the problem of unemployment, which today threatens the very foundations of the tranquillity of this Nation.

A parallel civilization between two diverse races is an impossible achievement. The two races cannot run along parallel and equal. One or the other will dominate or else the two will amalgamate. There is not a single ethnologist who does not predict that eventually the blacks, if given full rights with the whites, will be absorbed by the whites. Some scientists claim that this condition will come about very soon, while others contend that it will require hundreds of years; but all are agreed that miscegenation will result if the Negro is given every chance that the white man is given to develop in this country. Mixed schools, mixed hotels, such as provided by the laws of Pennsylvania, and intimate social relations between whites and blacks will hasten race blending, as shown by the great increase of mulattoes in the cities of the West and North, far exceeding any such increase in the South; and Washington is not far behind. White girls working in some of the departments in Washington are married to and living with Negro men, since they can marry here without violating the law.

There is no doubt that the presence of the Negro in the South is responsible for that section of our country being called "the No. 1 economic problem of the Nation." The whites have been migrating from that section by the millions within the last score of years. The best blood of the white race in the South, when trained and educated for the duties and responsibilities of outstanding citizenship, observe, after casting their eyes over a benighted land, cursed with a race problem, a lack of opportunities to discharge these duties with any degree of efficiency. Consequently they migrate to sections of the country where the free and full exercise of talent and qualifications will count most. Therefore the southern population becomes to an alarming extent depleted because of the migration of the best element of the white race to other sections of the United States.

Between 1900 and 1930 more than 3,400,000 of those born in the Southeastern States have moved to States outside that region. It is estimated that since 1900, 3,800,000 have left the Southeast entirely, and only 400,000 have come in from elsewhere, still leaving, as before stated, a loss of 3,400,000. Just what the estimated value of this human wealth lost to the South would be depends upon the per capita estimate of capital wealth. At an appraisal of one-half the maximum used by economists, the aggregate would approach the present stupendous debt of the Nation. To be more specific, the migration of whites, due primarily to the presence of the Negro, in 30 years has cost the South \$60,000,000,000.

Still another loss is sustained because of this migratory movement, and that is that many of the most ambitious and venturesome citizens join in this gigantic trek, leaving behind many who are satisfied to take their ease. The result is that to a large extent the South is underpopulated in desirables and overpopulated in undesirables. This is a serious charge for a Senator of the United States to make against his people. There is no excuse, other than the Negro problem, for the South's lack of advancement, educationally and industrially, as compared with other sections of our country.

Take, for example, the 11 Southeastern States, which have an unexcelled climate and embrace 17 percent of the Nation's area; yet in material development they lag. Of the 100 great banking systems throughout the country this region has only 3, and its deposits are less than 1½ percent. There are 161 units in the 29 concentrated areas of iron and steel, and the South has only 5 of this number. This region has 28 out of the 195 units of food concentration. There are 30 great industrial areas in the United States, and not one is to be found in the 11 Southeastern States. The income and wages of this section are from 30 percent to 50 percent below

normal. It is estimated that 20,000,000 tons of potash and nitrogens and phosphates are annually washed out of the soil. Forty-five percent of the eroded lands of the Nation are in this section. The profits of the farms are taken up in the purchase of livestock, farming implements, and especially fertilizer. Five and one-half million tons of fertilizer, costing \$161,000,000, are purchased annually in the South, while the rest of the Nation buys only \$500,000 worth of this commodity. The wealth per capita is about one-half the Nation's average. We might go on indefinitely through a category of lost and wasted opportunities in the South.

Notwithstanding these unfavorable and highly deplorable conditions, the South surpasses all other sections of the country in natural advantages. The 11 Southeastern States embrace 40 percent of desirable farm lands, 40 percent of the commercial forests, 98 percent of the yellow pine, 43 percent of the hardwood, 61 percent of the marble, 10 percent of the pig iron, and 100 percent of the soapstone. Think of these 11 States enjoying these favorable advantages over the entire remaining sections of the country.

Fuel and water power in these States are of such regional excellence as exists in no other part of the Nation. This section, inclusive of the Southwest, furnishes 65 percent of the Nation's petroleum, 50 percent of the natural gas, 98 percent of the natural phosphate, 99.9 percent of the sulphur, and 43 percent of the borate.

The water power of the southeast develops 16,000,000 horsepower, a total that equaled the Nation's output in 1930. Here we have a section of country that is far above the average in natural resources, yet it is far less developed. Why this lag? I am constrained to believe that the original cause was slavery, followed by the presence of the freedmen, then by Reconstruction, and finally the loss of a great part of the desirable population due to the handicap directly traceable to the presence of an enormous Negro population.

My attention has recently been directed to a letter written by Kelly Miller to ARTHUR W. MITCHELL, a Member of Congress from the Black Belt of Chicago, Ill., which letter, and his reply thereto, the Congressman had published in the Appendix of the RECORD, page 488. This letter undertakes to depict the deplorable condition of the Negro in this country, and to discourage the further migration of the Negro from the farms of the South to the cities of the North. While I do not know that Miller is a Negro, I assume from the tone and purport of his letter that he is. I quote from Miller's letter:

Even where he—the Negro—is engaged in recognized pursuits which demand shorter hours and higher wages, he constitutes in the main, a marginal worker demanding less skill and lower pay. Under the pressure of competition, even in agriculture and domestic service, the Negro is being pushed down to the bottom or pressed out at the side, and therefore is becoming less and less indispensable.

Again he says:

Race prejudice as severely restricts the Negro's industrial opportunities in the North as it does his political and civil rights in the South. * * * One shudders to predict the future of a Negro child brought up in a seven-story flat of a Harlem tenement house.

Again I quote:

The invasion of the boll weevil and the coming of the World War threatened to shift the Negro population from the farm to the cities, both in the North and the South, but the heira was short lived after the boll weevil had ceased to threaten cotton production and the soldiers had returned from the World War to their places in the mechanized industries of the South, the Negro looked around and, like Othello, found his city occupation gone.

He goes on to say, further, that the Negro's plight in the industrial and economic world has been emphasized by the depression, and that a disproportionate number of the 10,000,000 unemployed in this country is represented by the Negro race; and then adds, to use his own words:

The cities * * * have now as many Negroes as they can hold in solution without a dangerous precipitation. He must have a greater faith in the future than I can command who can foresee any way out for the city contingent of the Negro race. It is unthinkable that they should continue for ever, or for long, to live on charity and relief.

Before closing these observations on the letter written by Kelly Miller, I wish to give one quotation from the reply to the letter sent by Representative MITCHELL:

It is my opinion and observation that nowhere in the United States of America has the Negro been given equality before the law and equality in the economic affairs of the Nation.

Are not these remarkable statements to be made by outstanding leaders of the Negro race after the Negro has lived in this country for 300 years? If, within a period of time covering a century and a half, the Negro has been willfully and designedly denied the rights and privileges secured to the white race under our Constitution, how can he, at this advanced stage of our growth and development, entertain the faintest hope of enjoying the blessings of society and the benefits of government such as have been provided by the white man for a white civilization?

I recall again in this connection the words employed by President Lincoln when addressing a deputation of free Negroes at the White House. He said:

I think your race suffers greatly; many of them by living with us while ours suffers from your presence. * * * We suffer on each side. If this is admitted, it shows a reason why we should be separated. You here are free men. * * * Perhaps you have long been free. * * * You are yet far removed from being placed on equality with the white race. You are still cut off from many of the advantages which are enjoyed by the other race. The aspiration of man is to enjoy equality with the best when free, but on this broad continent not a single man of your race is made the equal of ours. Go where you are treated the best and the ban is still upon you. I cannot alter it if I would.

I ask my colleagues to pardon me for requoting still another statement from the Great Emancipator:

I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the political and social equality of the white and black races. I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters and jurors of Negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say, in addition to this, that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality.

I cannot refrain from associating these words of Abraham Lincoln with those memorable lines uttered by Thomas Jefferson:

Nothing is more certainly written in the Book of Fate than that * * * the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government.

Jefferson and Lincoln, although separated in time of service by many years, occupy a position in history with respect to the repatriation of the American Negro very similar to the one occupied by Moses and Aaron with respect to the exodus of the children of Israel from an Egyptian bondage not entirely dissimilar in point of denied social and political rights and undesirable living conditions to the lot of the American Negro under the Government of the United States. Both Moses and Aaron repeatedly petitioned the Pharaoh of their time to "let my people go" in order that they might return to the land of Canaan. They prophesied frequently the visitation of numerous plagues upon the land of Egypt if the government of Pharaoh continued to insist that the Israelites, a minority group denied the rights and privileges of the high-born Egyptian, should be forced to live in a land populated with a people of wholly diverse racial values.

Jefferson and Lincoln likewise prophesied with respect to the calamities that would befall a nation of people composed of two races so entirely unlike in their racial inheritances. In Egypt, due to the presence of the Israelites, according to the prophecies of Moses and Aaron, the rivers ran with blood. Then came the plague of frogs, lice, flies, murrain, boils with blains from the scattered ashes flung into the air, hail, locusts, impenetrable darkness, and, last, the death of the first born in every home of the land, except where the blood of the lamb was sprinkled on the two side posts and on the upper door posts of the houses, in which event the Angel of Death would pass over and spare the first-born of that home.

Already, according to the warnings and admonitions of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln, plagues have been

visited upon those sections of our common country where the white race and the black race have been forced to live side by side. As a result of the Civil War, due to the presence of the Negro, our rivers have been made to run with the blood of the best and the bravest. Already has the most favored part of the Nation in point of climate and natural resources been visited by the boll weevil and divers other insects, which left a devastation in their paths greater by far than that which lay in the wake of the flies and the lice and the locusts which settled like an ominous cloud upon the land of Egypt. Neither has this fair clime, peopled with the purest blood of the Caucasian race, been spared the "boils with blains." It has suffered through the spread of a syphilitic infection far more deadly than the contagion of the putrid scourge that afflicted the kingdom of Pharaoh.

I call upon Congress now to renew the covenant of Abraham Lincoln to return the children of Ethiopia to their motherland, Africa, lest we may yet experience the consequences attendant upon the visitation of some angel of death that will strike down into cold and lifeless clay the first-born in every home of the land. I call upon Congress to open the channels of the sea for the passage of Ethiopians into the land of Liberia; and if this be accomplished, I warn any hostile band of Pharaoh against any attempt to pursue them with horse and chariot lest the waters of the deep envelop them in universal ruin.

Mr. President, while craving the Senate's patience for indulging in Biblical allusions, I wish to present one other I have in mind which seems to me to have a special bearing upon the subject of repatriation. It will be recalled that Ishmael and Isaac, although circumcized as fellow heirs of the same covenant, could not dwell together as equals in the same house. Sarah, the lawful wife of Abraham, has ever been thought cruel in her methods. Hagar, her servant slave and companion, whom Sarah—at that time childless—had given to Abraham that children might be born to his tribe, was tearful and submissive and was obsessed with the conviction that Ishmael, her son, could not attain unto blessings promised unless they were sent forth as Sarah had demanded after the birth of Isaac, her first-born; and so it happens in this day, in this year of our Lord, that the seed of the bondwoman here is coming to the conclusion that it cannot work out its destiny and obtain its inheritance in the midst of the seed of the free woman. Notwithstanding all laws that are passed for the purpose of securing equal social, political, and economic rights among the citizens of this Government, these two races, the black and the white, cannot live together as equals. How can we hope for the achievement of a parity condition in point of personal rights and liberties when there is no case in all history upon which such a condition or achievement can be predicated. Antagonism between the races, an inborn prejudice on the part of the whites, coupled with the birth of a growing self-respect among the blacks, an awakened ambition for race nationality, and an innate loyalty to race inheritance are causing the Afro-Americans to lower their hands that have been held high for a century and a half in suppliant pleadings to an indifferent Government, established and administered by the white man, and are urging the Negro to turn his face to the land of his fathers where he can exercise the rights and enjoy the security for so long a time denied him. They are thinking in mass of the land of their fathers, of the continent that God himself gave to their race, where their destiny is yet to be fulfilled.

Many have not yet heard of the Christian Republic of Liberia, whose standing among the nations of the world is acknowledged and whose fascinating history, fertile lands, free institutions, and equal opportunities invite them; where personal development, race nationality, and race loyalty will find an easy and permanent solution. More than 2,000,000, however, have learned of this land of equal opportunities and unclouded future. They are sending petitions, growing in number of signatories, daily to our Government, praying

for the helping hand of this rich and powerful Nation to strengthen and support them in their consuming desire to return to the land that the Great Emancipator, Abraham Lincoln, had pledged himself to provide for them. As if coming through the invisible ether, I can hear their message radioed, as it were, to this body that will soon sit in judgment on their fate, saying:

We, the Negroes of the United States, are burdened with conditions which to us are no longer endurable. Our American citizenship is a sham; our presence is endangering the peace and integrity of your Nation; our natural increase will in time threaten to push you overboard and wreck your great ship of state. Our growing population should be more alarming and disconcerting to you than the almost \$50,000,000,000 deficit in your Treasury. We outnumber you in some States. There is a black belt in Chicago, in New York, in Detroit, in Philadelphia, in St. Louis, and in the Mississippi Delta, and as we expand, you are rapidly and necessarily departing. With you, we have learned, we cannot form one homogeneous people, neither can our race dwell with you together on an equality. Send us back to Africa, that we may do our long-delayed divinely appointed work. We do not ask for all to go at once. Just send those who are now willing to go and whose training, education, experience, and character will add new luster to the star of the Liberian Republic, already founded by the beneficence of your Government. Start the emigration by Government aid. Acquire new territories adjacent or contiguous to Liberia so that in time all citizens in your country of African descent may find a home in the motherland and there be privileged to work out their own salvation and the redemption of benighted Africa.

With such a plea coming from the multitudinous voice of 2,000,000 Afro-Americans, how can we be more rebellious than Pharaoh of Egypt?

I trust my bill, designed to furnish an opportunity for Negroes or persons of Negro descent in this country to migrate to the West Coast of Africa, will have favorable consideration by the committee to which it may be referred and if a favorable report is made on the measure and it is placed upon the calendar of the Senate and here comes up for further consideration, I shall avail myself of the opportunity to discuss, in some detail, every provision of the bill.

At this time, I shall touch upon only two features of the measure, namely, section 102 of title I and section 201 of title II.

Section 102 reads as follows:

SEC. 102. It is hereby declared to be the intent of Congress that the benefits and provisions of this act shall apply to citizens of the United States who may qualify as eligible for citizenship in the Republic of Liberia and who, by their physical fitness and climatic adaptability may qualify as migrants to be permanently settled in the territory hereinafter provided for and who shall have voluntarily expressed a desire to become emigrants under the provisions of the act.

There can be no doubt but that this section distinctly designates the Negro and persons of Negro descent as the beneficiaries of the act.

The word "Negro" is nowhere mentioned in the bill. It provides only for those who can qualify for citizenship in Liberia, and before one can qualify for citizenship in Liberia he must be of Negro descent. The expression, "physical fitness and climatic adaptability," taken with the statement that "only persons who are eligible for citizenship in the Republic of Liberia may qualify as an applicant," unmistakably points to the Negro, exclusive of any white person, as the individual entitled to any of the benefits of the act.

In article 5, section 13, of the Constitution of the Republic of Liberia, these words are to be found:

None but Negroes or persons of African descent shall be eligible for citizenship in this Republic.

The purpose of the act, therefore, is to establish a government on the West Coast of Africa sufficiently large in territorial boundaries to take care of the Negroes of the United States—a government where Negroes only can enjoy the rights of citizenship and where Negroes only shall participate in the administration of its political affairs.

Title 2 of the act provides for the liquidation and settlement of the war debts due to the United States by the debtor nations. The act contemplates negotiations to be conducted by the United States with Great Britain and France, with a view to purchasing not to exceed 400,000 square miles of territory from those countries, such lands to be contiguous

to the Republic of Liberia and so situated as to form an undivided area to be known as the Republic of Greater Liberia. The territory to be acquired will necessarily come from the Ivory Coast and French Guinea, owned by the French Government, and from the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone, owned by Great Britain. The act provides that the purchase price of this territory, not to exceed 400,000 square miles, shall be paid by crediting the agreed purchase price against the war debts owing to the United States by the countries from which such territory is purchased. The debts of foreign nations owing to the United States by virtue of loans made by the United States during the World War now loom so high as to make those obligations one of the most troublesome problems facing this country and its debtor nations.

It is universally admitted that the only way to discharge a war debt obligation is through payment in goods or services by the debtor to the creditor. Our debtor nations are unable to pay their obligations to us either in silver or gold. There is insufficient gold in the world to liquidate the debts due us by foreign nations. As a matter of fact, no international loan in the financial history of the world was ever paid by transfer of money. That is a fundamental economic fact. Regardless of this fact, the nonexistence among our debtor nations of a sufficiency of gold to pay their obligations to us takes a gold settlement completely out of the picture. The only alternative, then, is for this Nation to accept goods and services, but it would be detrimental and downright destructive to the welfare of our country to accept settlement in goods and services, because our country is a highly industrial one, and the consumption market here is already glutted from an overproduction of American-made goods. To accept the manufactured products of a foreign nation would therefore be disastrous to the economic life of the United States.

France and England, our greatest debtor nations, would gladly discharge their obligations to us if it could be done with goods and services, but as before stated, the United States cannot afford to accept settlement in this manner because it would be suicidal for American industries and to our economic stability. The disastrous economic effect that such settlements have upon a creditor country is today a matter of common knowledge. When the French settled their war indemnity to Germany in 1871, there followed such an economic depression in Germany that Bismarck remarked: "The next time I defeat France I will insist upon paying her an indemnity."

Following the World War, when Germany began to build merchant ships for England, the British shipyards were thrown out of work. When the Germans began to hand over ships and goods on account, their reparation, instead of a blessing, proved to be a disaster.

My bill provides for an American consumption market in Africa where no evil effects, as a consequence, would appertain to home-consumption markets. It so happens that the two largest debtor nations, Great Britain and France, are also the two largest landholders on the globe. Never before in the history of the United States and these debtor nations has there been a time when their interests have been more nearly identical, and when the destiny of all is bound up in the destiny of any one of them. The aggressive tendency of totalitarian states threatens the permanency of democratic institutions the world over. This troublesome question of war debts is the only problem that strikes a discordant note in the harmony which these three great democracies are endeavoring today to establish as a common defense against the encroachments of the totalitarian states.

If the syndicated articles of Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen are to be credited as they pertain to some of the underlying purposes of Hitler and Mussolini, it would be well to weigh carefully what these gentlemen have to say about the "Conference on Raw Materials," as set down in their syndicated article of March 3; I quote:

No diplomatic overtures have been made officially but an extremely significant deal to carve up Africa will be sprung by Hitler and Mussolini soon. Keep your eyes open for a "conference on raw materials" or some other high-sounding name. This will

be suggested in the near future by the Rome-Berlin axis, and to the conference will be invited not merely Europe's four main powers but Poland and Spain. Colonies for Poland have been discussed recently by Von Ribbentrop, Nazi Foreign Minister, and the Polish Foreign Minister, Colonel Beck. Mussolini will also demand new colonies for his minion, General Franco. What Germany has in mind to satisfy its raw-material craving is a slice of Africa extending from French Senegal on the west coast of Africa to around Lake Chad, and then south to the Belgian Congo. This would include Liberia, an American Negro free colony, Nigeria, and large chunks of French territory. . . . The means of providing these raw materials may be tough for the French and British palate. Mussolini and Hitler would also demand some African territory for their new Fascist ally, Spain. What will be asked for Poland is not yet known. Germany will not be asking for the return of her old African colonies but considerably more than her pre-war holdings for herself and her allies.

If credence is to be given to this statement, it follows that the time is now ripe to extend to France and Great Britain an opportunity to settle their war debts by the transfer of the territories contemplated in the bill to the United States of America, and thereby deal Germany and her allies a blow not altogether dissimilar to the one that Napoleon dealt to Great Britain by selling to the United States, for a paltry sum, the Louisiana Territory.

Assume that the bill passes and at the present time negotiations with debtor nations result in our failure to acquire lands now owned by the debtor nations contiguous to Liberia. Still the fact really should not be overlooked that successful negotiations resulting in acquiring these properties may be undertaken and consummated at some future time, if not now. The bill will enable representatives of the democracies to give consideration to our war debt proposal wherever and whenever they may be gathered around the council table. Under the terms of the bill, regardless of the success of our negotiations to acquire additional territory, the repatriation movement to Africa can begin and continue when the proper negotiations are completed between the United States and the Republic of Liberia. The success of the repatriation movement is not entirely predicated upon our success in acquiring the additional territory.

I sincerely hope that every Member of this body will read and give careful consideration to the provisions of the bill. It is not the product of minds afflicted with a Messianic complex. It is a rational and realistic formula for the solution of the race problem in the United States. The bill has been prepared with the cooperation of the friends of the movement. It has been reviewed and approved by the best legal minds of the Nation, men who are in sympathy with the end to be achieved. May the Congress give to the measure the sympathetic consideration it deserves.

Mr. President, in further support of the contention that the best thing this Government could do would be to negotiate with France and England to take over this territory, I submit an article appearing in the magazine *Liberty*, of March 18, written by Walter Karig, under the head of "Does Hitler Want America Next? Here is the Evidence—and the Inside Story of What We Are Doing About It."

A reading of the analysis and report of the position of the Department of State, the Navy Department, the War Department, and the Department of Commerce makes it perfectly clear that if the dream of Hitler is to be realized—and we all know that he is dreaming—he is seeking to secure and will demand a foothold on the West Coast of Africa, which, with the Canary Islands, will provide a place where he can harbor his submarines, build his airfields, place his ammunition, his men, and his materials of war, and thus gain control of the lanes of trade of the United States with South America, to enable him to jump on and off at will. That is his dream; and that is why, if we mean what we say, we must stand by the Monroe Doctrine, because that step is essential in order to prevent the consummation of Hitler's dream, his machinations, and his plans. I think I do the cause of good government a service by asking unanimous consent that the article from *Liberty* be inserted in full at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HILL in the chair). Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered. (See exhibit A.)

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Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, in conclusion, I wish to say that the fight to solve the race question by separation, and by the orderly, friendly, and voluntarily resettlement of the Negroes of this country in Africa, has just started. This is only the beginning. I have religiously followed the text of my prepared address because I propose to give it the widest possible circulation.

I am satisfied that 75 percent, or 8,000,000 of the 12,000,000 Negroes in America, are desirous of the opportunity to establish their home in their fatherland because they are now conscious as never before of the discriminations, the abuses, the oppression, and the lack of opportunity which have been their experience, not only in the South but in the North. Their condition in the North is worse than it is in the South. I understand that the city of Birmingham permitted Marian Anderson to sing in its auditorium. I know that the city of Jackson did; but when she came to the great cosmopolitan city of Washington, the seat of government, which is supposed to be the Negro's paradise, she was not even permitted to sing in a school building, or in the D. A. R. auditorium, or anywhere else. She sang in the open.

The condition I have described is only indicative of a spirit which is growing throughout the Nation. I am sorry to say that this country is not free from the race hatred and race prejudice which we have seen so bitterly demonstrated in Italy and in Germany. There is the same rising tide of opposition to various races which live in the United States. For 300 years the poor Negro race has known that the feeling has been against it. After 300 years of trial side by side with the white man it has discovered that conditions are not becoming any better, but are becoming worse. That is why we find two and a half million Negroes pleading for the opportunity to be placed in a country they can call their own.

I am just as confident that the problem will be solved as I am that the sun shines in the heavens today. There is now only one thing in the way of a solution, and that is the fact that politically the Negro holds the balance of power in about 7 or 8 or 10 States of the American Union. Therefore, everything is quiet at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue. Therefore, my colleagues are rather slow to take hold of the problem or to express themselves upon it. For the same reasons the press of the country does not hesitate to state that it is afraid to handle the question. It is dynamite. However, when 8,000,000 or 9,000,000 Negroes become organized and convince us that they mean business, they will be dynamite, and the dynamite will produce results with an explosion. There will be no question about it. Religiously, economically, socially, politically, racially, and in every way the thing I propose ought to be done. It must be done, it can be done, and it will be done.

I am one of those who believe that, in accordance with His plan, God Almighty sent the children of Israel down into the land of Egypt in slavery in order that they there might absorb and take on the cultural trades and arts and training and literature of the Egyptians, who at that time had the greatest civilization in the world, and that later, through Moses and Aaron, they were led out into the promised land; and it is not far-fetched to say that, in the wisdom of God Almighty himself, the Negro was brought from the wilds of the jungles of Africa in his heathen condition and planted on the American shore as a slave in order that he might learn the arts and trades and culture and music and education and religion of the American people; and, having been thus prepared, it is a further plan of the Almighty that the Negroes may be transferred back to the land of their forefathers, a land where there still remain a few of their brethren who are without Christianity, without education and training, to teach them the American way of life and to reclaim and save their less fortunate kith and kin.

(The bill S. 2231, which was ordered to be printed at the conclusion of Mr. BILBO's remarks, is as follows:)

Be it enacted, etc.,

TITLE I

SECTION 101. This act may be cited as the "Greater Liberia Act."
SEC. 102. It is hereby declared to be the intent of Congress that the benefits and provisions of this act shall apply to citizens of

the United States who may qualify as eligible for citizenship in the Republic of Liberia and who by their physical fitness and climatic adaptability may qualify as migrants to be permanently settled in the territory hereinafter provided for and who shall have voluntarily expressed a desire to become migrants under the provisions of this act.

TITLE II

SECTION 201. (a) The President of the United States is hereby authorized and directed to enter into negotiations, through the Department of State or otherwise as he may deem appropriate, with the Governments of the Republic of France and of His Majesty the King of Great Britain, respectively, for the purchase by the United States of not to exceed 400,000 square miles of territory of either or both such countries adjoining the Republic of Liberia or capable of annexation to the said Republic of Liberia.

(b) If the President shall ascertain that such territory may be purchased from either or both such countries at a price determined by him to be reasonable, he shall have and hereby is granted all the necessary authority to consummate negotiations for the purchase of such territory.

(c) If the Governments of the Republic of France and of Great Britain shall have effected public works of value and usefulness in such territories, respectively, or shall own and operate public utilities in said territories, the same shall become the property of the United States and their fair appraisal valuation shall become part of and be added to the purchase price of such territories.

(d) The purchase price of any such territory, including the value of all public works, public buildings, public utilities of government ownership, and other public property, shall be paid by crediting the agreed purchase price against the war debts owing to the United States by the country from which such territory is purchased: *Provided*, That in any instances in which the United States shall agree to assume the public debt of any such territory, or the payment of any outstanding bond issues of any public utilities, the same shall be deducted from the credits accruing to such country in accordance with the provisions of this subsection.

Sec. 202. Upon the consummation of the negotiations provided in the preceding section, the President of the United States is hereby authorized and directed to enter into further negotiations with the Governments of the Republic of France and of Great Britain, respectively, and also with other nations owing war debts to the United States for the purchase of goods and services, including textiles, tools, implements, machinery, building materials, and other goods, in such amounts, and of such type and specifications as may be judged by the President to be best adapted to the development and organization of the territories so acquired, and as will contribute to the comfort and subsistence of the migrants to such territories. Such services may include maritime transportation of personnel and matériel from points of departure to points of discharge. Such goods and services shall be paid for in the same manner as provided in subsection (d) of the preceding paragraph for the acquisition of the lands, and such payments shall be applied annually to the annual installments of principal and interest accruing to the United States from such debtor countries, respectively.

TITLE III

SECTION 301. (a) Upon completion of such negotiations by the President and the transfer to and acquisition by the United States of such territories, the President shall immediately provide for and proceed to the military occupation and policing of such territories, which territories shall become one jurisdiction to be known and designated as the United States Territory of Greater Liberia, under a military governor and government, pending the establishment of civil government by Congress. The President shall further agree with the Governments of the Republic of France and Great Britain, respectively, for the gradual withdrawal of their respective troops and public officials and replacement by United States troops and public officials in such manner as best will preserve public peace and order during the transition. Except as hereinafter provided, and until Congress shall otherwise dispose, it shall be the duty of the military government to maintain the status quo in the newly acquired territory, and to maintain peace and order and enforce the revenue laws of such territory. The President is hereby authorized to appoint one of the ranking major generals of the Army as military governor of such territory.

(b) For the purpose of carrying out such military occupation the President is hereby authorized to call into active service two war-strength divisions of the United States Army, or such parts thereof, or such other troops, as he may deem advisable, including such units of the Regular Army and the National Guard as may physically qualify according to title I of this act and are available for duty, and proceed to the occupation of such territory under the jurisdiction of the military governor thereof.

(c) The President is further authorized to recruit, organize, and train, from such citizens of the United States as may qualify according to title I of this act, and subject to all other conditions now required for enlistment in the United States Navy, a naval militia, not to exceed, including officers and other personnel, 10,000 seamen and 5,000 marines, for coast-patrol service on the coastal lands and territorial waters of such territory; and, to detail and utilize for such service, from the list of inactive ships of the Navy, units of such type and tonnage as he may deem most suitable for such service. The said naval militia shall be commanded by a rear admiral of the Navy with appropriate staff of Navy personnel, and except as otherwise disposed by Congress,

said naval militia shall be subject to the jurisdiction of, and be used for carrying out the naval needs of, the military governor of such territory.

Sec. 302. The military governor, on his departure from the United States, shall be accompanied, in addition to his regulation staff, by a special staff of civil and sanitary engineers, health officers, and other experts, assisted by such personnel as the President may deem fit and necessary, and detailed from the Army or recruited from civil life. It shall be the duty of such staff, on its arrival at such territory and under the direction of the military governor, to proceed to make a survey of the land, and particularly the unimproved hinterland, with a view to the subsequent establishment of cities, towns, and settlements, the building of roads, construction of bridges, drainage of marshlands, adoption of sanitary measures, and the gathering of all such data and information as to the nature of the land and its adaptability to civilized habitation, including the taking of photographs, drawing of topographic maps, and other documentary guidance as will aid in the subsequent settlement and development of such territory. The said staff of engineers and experts shall submit its data and information to the military governor, who in turn shall study the same and submit the same to the President with his recommendations. The said staff of engineers, health officers, and experts shall not be discharged upon completion of its survey, but shall be retained for subsequent service in connection with the organization of said lands for civilized habitation.

Sec. 303. Upon assuming command of his post, the military governor shall at once proceed to take possession of all customs and other revenues, taking measures for the prevention of smuggling, and shall take over the management and operation of all public utilities that by this act may have come into the ownership of the United States and impound their revenues until further disposition by the President. For such purposes the President may detail an adequate number of finance officers from the Army and the Navy to accompany the forces of occupation and to be subject to the jurisdiction of the military governor.

(b) The military governor, subject to the approval of the President, may make such changes in policies and governmental procedure and directing personnel in the various agencies and establishments of government in the newly acquired territory as shall be consistent with the exercise of sovereignty by and to the best interests of the Government of the United States.

TITLE IV

SECTION 401. (a) For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act, the President is authorized, upon the consummation of the negotiations provided for in title II of this act, to create a Bureau of Colonization, attached to the Department of the Interior or acting as an independent agency as the President may deem best for the efficient operation of this act, and all powers of said Bureau of Colonization shall be exercised and administered by an Administrator of Colonization, hereinafter referred to and designated as the "Administrator."

(b) The Administrator may, without regard to the civil-service laws or the Classification Act of 1923, as amended, appoint and fix the compensation of such experts and such other officers and employees as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this act; and may make such expenditures, including expenditures for personal services, rent of quarters at the seat of government and elsewhere, for law books and books of reference, for stationery, printing and binding, and other facilities incidental to the adequate and efficient operation of said bureau, as may be necessary for carrying out the provisions of this act.

(c) The Administrator is hereby authorized to establish, man, and equip such regional branch offices of the Bureau of Colonization within the continental United States and in the newly acquired territory as he may deem necessary to carry out the provisions of this act. The said regional branch offices in the territory shall be in charge of a Deputy Administrator appointed by the Administrator, subject to the approval of the President.

Sec. 402. (a) The President, upon receipt of the informative data provided for in section 302 of title III of this act, shall submit the same to the Administrator and shall direct the said Administrator to formulate and devise a comprehensive plan of political and economic organization of said lands in accordance with the informative data supplied, including political subdivision for purposes of local government, establishment of towns, cities, settlements, farm districts, building of roads, deforestation of jungles, construction of bridges and of dams for hydroelectric power, drainage of marshlands and irrigation of arid lands, general sanitation, erection of buildings for public purposes, establishment of rail systems and of post and telegraphic routes, dredging of harbors and navigable rivers, construction of docking facilities, provisions for territorial defense, and all such other planning and provisions as will insure to the United States the successful development of said Territory and as will safeguard the health, life, and safety of migrants to said territory.

(b) Upon approval by the President of the plan of organization provided for in the preceding subsection, and in pursuance of the agreements provided for in section 202 of title II of this act, the President shall call upon the debtor nations to supply all such tools, implements, machinery, building materials, textiles, and supplies of whatsoever nature as may be necessary to carry out the plan of organization of said lands, either by shipments from the sources of supply of the said debtor nations, or by purchases within the United States to be charged to said debtor nations. The

Bureau of Colonization shall keep accounts of such supply of goods and services, submitting periodic balances to the President as he may direct, for the purpose of credit to the said debtor nations in accordance with section 202 of title II of this act.

(c) Upon approval by the President of the general plan of organization provided for in subsection (a) of this section, the President is hereby authorized to enlist, recruit, and organize three war-strength divisions of labor troops, or such number of labor troops as he may reasonably deem necessary, including skilled and unskilled labor from among such citizens of the United States between the ages of 21 years and 50 years, as may best qualify as settlers or migrants to said territory in accordance with title I of this act, for active service in their respective trades and professions in connection with the carrying out of the general plan of organization of the land, such active enlistment to be for a term of 3 years, and not more than 6 years under a re-enlistment, or until a civil government for such territory shall have assumed the responsibility of carrying out the unfinished portions of said plan of organization. In addition to their defensive equipment, the said troops shall be further equipped with the necessary tools, machinery, and implements of labor necessary to carry out such plan of organization. The rate of pay, rations, and subsistence of said labor troops shall be the same as the rate of pay in the United States Army for similar services; *Provided*, That the Administrator, with the approval of the President, may fix additional compensation under such terms as shall be just and reasonable to skilled labor, to compensate for losses for the same type of service in civil life.

(d) The President is hereby authorized to accept such shipping facilities as may be obtained from the debtor nations for the transportation of such troops and to credit the same to their respective installments on the war debts; or, in his discretion, he may use all or any of the transportation facilities of any department, agency, or dependency of the Government of the United States for such purpose, and may use all the methods, plans, and facilities of the United States Army for the transportation, maintenance, and discipline of said troops from the point of enlistment within the United States to the point of expected service in the newly acquired territory.

Sec. 403. (a) Upon the arrival of the labor divisions provided for in the preceding subsections, and subject to the orders and instructions of the Administrator, the Deputy Administrator resident in the newly acquired territory (hereinafter designated as the resident deputy administrator), aided by the staff of experts and engineers provided for in section 302 of title III of this act, shall proceed to execute and carry out the plan of organization of the lands, and he shall be responsible to the President and to the Administrator for its prompt and proper execution. The said Resident Deputy Administrator shall be provided with adequate facilities for the transportation of men and materials, and for communication within the said territory and with the pertinent agencies within the United States to better carry out his duties.

(b) Except for the performance of labor and other duties incidental to the execution of the plan of organization, the said labor troops shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the military governor, who, at the same time, shall render to the Resident Deputy Administrator all the cooperation and assistance necessary to aid in carrying out the plan of organization.

Sec. 404. When the military governor shall deem it advisable, and subject to his recommendations, the Administrator may provide for and proceed to the transportation to the said territory of the families and dependents of any member of the territorial forces of land or sea, or of the labor divisions, rendering services in the newly acquired territory, in the same manner as provided for subsequent migrants in the succeeding provisions of this act. Such individuals as shall have volunteered to serve in said armed forces or labor divisions, and their families, shall be allowed a 25-percent increase over and above the maximum allowed to any other migrant by way of grant-in-aid as hereinafter provided.

Sec. 405. Upon completion of the term of enlistment of any such member of the armed forces or the labor divisions, and his discharge from the service, it shall be the duty of the Resident Deputy Administrator or his successor in duties, to provide the said discharged individual with land, housing, household goods, tools, and other implements of labor, subsistence, transportation for himself and dependents to the point of settlement, and all other facilities for his reentry into civil life, including his increase in grant-in-aid, in the same manner as hereinafter provided for subsequent migrants to said territory. In addition thereto, any such individual shall enjoy preferential rating for any classified or unclassified civil-service position in the government of the said territory for which he may otherwise qualify.

Sec. 406. The President is hereby authorized, from any funds available in the United States Treasury and not allocated for any other purpose, to provide in accordance with Army standards, for pensioning or paying of compensation to any individual serving in the land or sea forces provided for in title III, or in the labor troops provided for in title IV, or his dependents, in case of death or disability while in such service; or, the President may, in his discretion, enter into contracts or covenants with life-insurance companies to provide such compensation in case of the death or disability of any officer or enlisted man engaged in such service, in the same or similar manner as provided for war-risk insurance, and the President is hereby authorized to utilize any available funds of the United States not allocated for any other purpose,

for the purpose of payment of premiums for the same. Each individual shall be so insured, or pension and compensation so provided for, on his enlistment or assignment for duty in the newly acquired territory.

Sec. 407. (a) After the establishment of the Bureau of Colonization provided for in this title, any citizen of the United States, between the ages of 21 years and 50 years of age, in good physical condition, who can qualify in accordance with the provisions of title I, and who is capable by reason of his training, intelligence, and ambition of becoming self-sustaining as a settler in the United States Territory of Greater Liberia, and who desires to become a migrant and settler to said territory under the provisions of this act, and any acceptable alien who is a bona fide resident of the United States who can qualify according to the provisions of this section and under such other terms and conditions as the Administrator may prescribe with respect to such aliens, shall file an application on blanks prepared and supplied by the Bureau of Colonization, with the mayor or with the chief of police of the city, town, or village in which he resides, or with the county clerk or corresponding officer of the county in which he resides, giving such data and information as will aid the Bureau of Colonization in making the proper arrangements for his migration and placement in the said territory. If such blanks are not available in his city, town, village, or county, the applicant may request the same from the Bureau of Colonization, or from the nearest regional office of the said Bureau.

(b) If the applicant is a householder, he may make application for all the members of his household as a unit, and in such a case the limitations as to age and other conditions established in the preceding section shall not apply to the members of his household. The application of a person responsible for the support and maintenance of children under the age of 12 years shall not be favorably acted upon, unless such children are to accompany such applicant on his migration, or unless he has made adequate provisions for their support and maintenance pending their transfer to join the applicant in the new territory.

(c) The following persons shall not be eligible to apply for migration: Escaped convicts or fugitives from justice, unless the jurisdiction in which they are desired waives extradition or prosecution; persons under indictment and awaiting trial, unless the jurisdiction in which such trial is pending waives prosecution; persons applying for migration for the purpose of defrauding creditors, unless written release from such creditors is filed with the Bureau of Colonization; and such other persons as the Administrator may reasonably believe likely to become public charges or social liabilities in the territory. The rulings and opinions of the Administrator may be reviewed by certiorari to any United States district court of competent jurisdiction.

(d) The various mayors, chiefs of police, county clerks, or other persons in authority with whom such applications are filed, shall forward the same forthwith to the Bureau of Colonization, and the Administrator shall receive and pass upon the same, and shall classify and catalogue the same for action in accordance with the provisions of this act; but the Administrator shall not order the transfer of any applicant or his household, unless proper and adequate placement has been obtained in the territory for the said migrant. The Resident Deputy Administrator in the territory shall keep the Bureau of Colonization promptly and fully informed as to possible and available placements, such placements to be based on occupational opportunities for economic self-sustenance either independently or in private employment or as a public servant in the Federal or Territorial services.

Sec. 408. Subject to the authority of the President, the Administrator shall have power:

(a) To requisition the debtor countries for goods and services in accordance with the agreements entered into between the President and the debtor governments, respectively, under the provisions of title II of this act, and to receive and receipt for the same in the name of the President.

(b) To order goods and services in the name of the President from private individuals or concerns in the ordinary course of trade, and charge the same to such appropriations as Congress may from time to time make for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act.

(c) To requisition any department, board, or agency of the Government of the United States for any available goods, services, or facilities which may be used and useful in the carrying out of the provisions of this act, without affecting the proper operation of such department, board, or agency.

(d) To provide transportation by land and by sea to qualifying applicants migrating under the provisions of this act, and to their households, from the initial point of departure in the United States to the point of settlement in the Territory of Greater Liberia; and to contract with land and maritime transportation companies for such purposes to the extent that may be necessary by reason of the fact that such transportation facilities are not available from the debtor nations or from the Government of the United States.

(e) To provide adequate subsistence, medical care, and other necessities of life for the migrants during transit and until finally settled at the point of settlement; and, to pay in whole or in part for such transportation and necessities as are provided under this section, in accordance with the circumstances and economic needs of each migrant.

(f) To make loans to individuals, partnerships, or corporations composed of migrants, in meritorious cases, not to exceed the

sum of \$1,000 in any case, on reasonably liberal terms and conditions, as initial capital for business and industrial enterprises in said territory.

(g) To extend such grants-in-aid, in cash or in supplies and equipment, to such migrants as he may deem advisable, to enable them to establish themselves on a self-sustaining basis at the chosen point of settlement, subject to the following limitations in any case: For clothing and household equipment, not to exceed \$300; for machinery, tools, implements, and materials of labor, not to exceed \$300; for food and physical subsistence, not to exceed \$1 per day for each person 12 years of age or over, and 50 cents a day for each child under 12 years of age; for educational and recreational facilities, not to exceed \$50 for each person in any one year. Such grants-in-aid shall not extend, under ordinary circumstances, for more than 1 year after the migrant and his household shall have settled in their new location, or, under extraordinary circumstances, for more than 2 years. At any time, when in the judgment of the Resident Deputy Administrator a migrant shall have become self-sustaining, such grants-in-aid, except unexpired State grants-in-aid, shall cease. The Administrator shall have authority to act as trustee for the administration of State grants-in-aid on behalf of the migrants, accounting periodically to the various States therefor. The Resident Deputy Administrator shall provide medical aid, medicines, and hospitalization for the migrants during the period of economic adjustment, free of charge, and shall take such other and further measures as may be reasonably necessary to safeguard and protect the health of the migrants. For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this subsection, the Resident Deputy Administrator is hereby authorized to establish and operate general stores, commissaries, depots, pharmacies, hospitals, infirmaries, and other buildings and facilities in accordance with the needs of every locality or new settlement occupied by the migrants.

(h) In the event that the governments of the various States should extend grants-in-aid to their respective citizens who may become migrants under the provisions of this act, then the grants-in-aid provided for in the preceding subsection shall operate as supplementary grants up to the amounts established by said subsection: *Provided*, That when the State grants-in-aid shall exceed the limits established by such subsection the migrant shall have the full benefit of such excess: *Provided further*, That State grants-in-aid shall not be diminished or curtailed by reason of the cessation of the grants-in-aid under such subsection. Sec. 409. The Resident Deputy Administrator shall be assisted in the administration of the territory and of this act by a board of commissioners appointed by the Administrator, with the approval of the President, whose duties respectively shall be as follows:

(a) A commissioner of interior, who shall be the custodian of all forests, flora, and fauna of the territory, and of all lands not parceled out for public or private use. He shall establish and maintain a land office, with branch offices in various localities, for the registration of all land titles or interests in property, and shall act as register of deeds for the military government; he shall have charge of the welfare of the uncivilized natives and shall administer the laws of the tribes, and shall supervise their education and progress so as to prepare and adjust them as quickly as possible to the new system of life.

(b) A commissioner of education, who shall establish and maintain a public-school system for the territory according to the American system and standards of education, coordinating any existent school systems in the territory with the new order, and shall also establish and maintain such schools as he may determine to be necessary for the training of military and naval officers. He shall act as commissioner of education for the military government, and as such he shall have supervision of all educational activities within the territory subject to the military government, making such changes as will obtain an integrated and uniform system of education for the Territory.

(c) A commissioner of public health and sanitation, who shall have full authority in all matters of public health and sanitation, including athletic activities and physical development and education in the public schools. The commissioner of public health and sanitation, together with the commissioner of interior, shall adopt measures for the improvement of the health and sanitation of the uncivilized tribes and their physical welfare. The commissioner of public health and sanitation shall have full authority over all hospitals of the territorial government and supervisory authority over all other hospitals, public or private. He shall act as commissioner of public health and sanitation for the military government, and as such shall enforce all orders and decrees of the military government relating to public health and sanitation.

(d) A commissioner of agriculture, commerce, and industry who shall have full charge of the economic organization and development of the territory. He shall be charged with the economic adjustment and education of the migrants in the preparation and cultivation of the land for commercial productivity; foster and develop industries from the products of the soil; and open, organize, and develop markets at home and abroad for the products of the territory. The commissioner of agriculture, commerce, and industry shall have authority to employ specialists and experts in the various branches of his activities. He shall act as commissioner of agriculture, commerce, and industry for the military government, and in this capacity he shall supervise on behalf of the military government all activities of the territory in his respective fields, including the enforcement of plant and animal quarantine, en-

forcement of the laws, orders, or decrees on weights and measures, and all commerce regulations and labor laws or regulations.

(e) A commissioner of public works who shall take over, maintain, and operate all public works completed by the staff of experts provided for in section 302 of this act, upon their completion, and who shall have charge of the construction of all public buildings, sewage and water-supply systems, and all enterprises of a public-works nature in the areas selected for city, town, or village sites, after such sites have been cleared and prepared by the staff of experts and labor divisions hereinbefore provided, and also shall construct all building facilities, such as schools and other public houses, and incidental side roads, in the organized rural areas or farm districts. He shall act as commissioner of public works for the military government, and as such he shall be the custodian of all public buildings, and shall be charged with the care and maintenance of such buildings and of water-supply and sewage systems in the organized portions of the territory; and shall carry out all orders of the military government within the scope of his office.

(f) A commissioner of banking and finance, who shall be in charge of the monetary needs of the migrants, and shall organize a banking and currency system for the territory, and shall be the custodian of all funds of the Bureau of Colonization to be expended within the territory or by the Resident Deputy Administrator. He shall act as treasurer for the military government, and subject to the authority of the military governor and with the aid of officers detailed by the latter for the purpose he shall have charge of the collection of all taxes and revenues for the military government, and shall be the custodian of the same. The commissioner of banking and finance shall maintain an accounting office, in charge of an auditor or certified accountant, to keep all accounts and records of the Resident Deputy Administrator, of the military government, and of the migrants with reference to their grants-in-aid. The accounting office may maintain branches in the various organized settlements.

(g) A legal adviser, who shall act as such for the Resident Deputy Administrator, and in the capacity of attorney general for the military government. He shall further be charged with the gathering and coordination of all existing laws, recommending to the military governor the nullification of those that are inoperative or inconsistent with the policies of the Government of the United States or with the sovereignty of the United States, recommending changes, and codifying the law of the land.

(h) The Resident Deputy Administrator shall have authority to appoint an executive secretary, who shall have charge of all records and archives of the office of the Resident Deputy Administrator, and of his seal. He shall act as secretary of state for the military government with such power and authority under the military governor as is consistent with and pertinent to the nature of his office.

(i) The board of commissioners, of which the legal adviser and the executive secretary shall be members, shall, together with the Resident Deputy Administrator (who shall be chairman thereof), prepare the territory at the earliest possible time for civil government, by organizing their respective departments into working units and adopting jointly such measures as shall be deemed necessary to obtain that end. The salaries of the members of the board of commissioners shall be fixed by the Administrator, subject to the approval of the President.

TITLE V

SECTION 501. (a) All proprietary rights in any and all lands acquired under the provisions of this act, except (1) lands used or reserved for governmental or other public uses, (2) lands set aside as tribal reservations for uncivilized natives, or as forest or mining reserves, by the commissioner of interior, and (3) lands previously acquired by good and sufficient private title or subject to previously acquired proprietary rights shall be conveyed by the President by quitclaim deed to a corporation, to be known as the Greater Liberia Corporation, and to be organized by the Administrator under the direction of the President, for the economic organization and development of the new territory.

(b) The said corporation shall parcel out all available lands, except such lands as shall be reserved for public utilities and for its own administrative uses, into farms to be sold to the migrants who might settle in the rural areas, and into subdivisions and lots to be sold to migrants who might settle in the villages, towns, or cities: *Provided*, That migrants receiving grants-in-aid shall not be allowed more than 50 acres of farm land nor more than 50-foot frontage of land subdivided as urban lots.

(c) The said corporation, either directly or through a subsidiary land company or companies, shall proceed to construct farm homes, city dwellings, business buildings, and other structures for private use on said lands, and shall sell such farms and dwellings to the migrants at cost, including expenses of administration and interest on bonds issued or preferred stock, either for cash or with a partial or no down payment, and with not more than 30 years to make full payment. All homes sold to persons migrating under the provisions of this act, or the plans for such homes, shall be approved first by the commissioner of sanitation as to sanitary facilities, and by the resident deputy administrator before such sale is made.

(d) The Greater Liberia Corporation shall have the exclusive right to operate all of the public utilities for the benefit of the government and the people of the territory; and the President shall release and quitclaim to the said corporation all proprietary rights that may have accrued to the United States, by virtue of the nego-

tations provided in title II of this act, in any railway line or lines (including all rolling stock and real estate involved), in any telephone, telegraph, or radio systems, in any hydroelectric establishment or electric light and power system, and in any other public utility or utilities. The Greater Liberia Corporation shall proceed, either directly or by means of separate subsidiaries, to organize and extend the said public utilities into comprehensive and integrated systems, to the end that the entire territory shall be adequately served thereby: *Provided*, That, subject to the approval of the President, and under such safeguards as will best protect the interests of the United States, the Greater Liberia Corporation may assign to any private corporation, foreign or domestic, for a reasonable period of time its rights to an exclusive franchise to operate any of such public utilities when such operation may prove advisable: *Provided further*, That the migrants under the provisions of this act shall have preference under all circumstances for employment for any position in such public utilities for which they may otherwise qualify.

(e) The President and the commissioner of interior shall quitclaim to the Greater Liberia Corporation all mines and mining rights, and the said corporation shall have the exclusive right to exploit the underground natural resources of the territory for the benefit of the people and the government of the said territory; and, the said corporation may proceed, either directly or through separate subsidiaries, to open and operate mines and utilize the mineral resources of the land to the profit of the people and Government of Greater Liberia: *Provided*, That the said corporation, under the same restrictions and conditions as are established in the preceding subsection for public utilities, may assign mining concessions to private corporations, foreign or domestic.

SEC. 502. (a) The Greater Liberia Corporation is authorized to issue two classes of stock, to wit, a common stock and a non-voting preferred stock with guaranteed dividends. The common stock shall not have a par value of more than \$10 a share; not more than 49 percent of the same shall ever be offered for sale to the public; and the sale of the said stock shall be limited to nonalien residents of the Territory of Greater Liberia. The provisions of this section shall apply to the stock of the Greater Liberia Corporation itself and to the stock of any of its subsidiaries.

(b) Subject to the approval of the President, the Greater Liberia Corporation is authorized to issue bonds, either in its own name or in the corporate name of any of its subsidiaries, for the purpose of carrying on its various branches of business or enlarging the same, and the President is hereby authorized to pledge the full faith and credit of the United States to guarantee the redemption of said bonds, and in pursuance thereof, is hereby directed to establish sinking funds to secure the adequate redemption of each class of bonds issued under the provisions of this subsection: *Provided*, That interest on the said bonds, annual allocations to the sinking fund, and guaranteed dividends on the nonvoting preferred stock shall constitute prior claims after payment of operating expenses.

SEC. 503. The Greater Liberia Corporation, either in its own name or through a subsidiary or subsidiaries, is hereby authorized, subject to the authority of the commissioner of banking and finance, to engage in the business of banking and foreign exchange, and to organize a banking system for the territory, and provide bank-credit facilities to the migrants for the purpose of economic development under such liberal terms and conditions as will best carry out the purposes of this act.

SEC. 504. The President is hereby authorized to allocate and assign to the government of the new territory the sum of \$10,000,000, from any sums available and not allocated to other purposes, such sum to apply to the purchase of 51 percent of the common stock of the Greater Liberia Corporation, and to provide initial capital for the operation of the same, and to advance such additional sums as in his judgment and on the recommendation of the Administrator may be deemed necessary to put this title into effective operation: *Provided*, That such sum or sums shall constitute loans to the government of said territory, to be repaid in not less than 25 years, with interest at the rate of 2 percent per annum.

TITLE VI

SECTION 601. (a) The President is authorized to enter into negotiations with the Government of the Republic of Liberia and the American Colonization Society for the purpose of obtaining, on behalf of the United States and from the said Government of Liberia and Colonization Society, a land grant of not to exceed 5,000,000 acres of land capable of being used or converted for agricultural, industrial, and commercial purposes, and of being organized into communities, settlements, and residential and farm districts. Should the President determine that such negotiations may be consummated in a manner satisfactory to him, he shall have all the necessary authority to consummate such negotiations and to accept deeds or other evidence of title in said lands on behalf of the United States.

(b) Upon their acquisition by the United States, the said lands shall, for colonization purposes, be put under the authority of the Resident Deputy Administrator, who, either in person or through a resident agent appointed by him for that purpose, shall have full supervision over the same for such purposes, and the Resident Deputy Administrator or his resident agent in Liberia shall act as personal representative of the President of the United States in all further negotiations with the Government of the Republic of

Liberia in reference to said lands, except as the President may otherwise dispose.

(c) The President shall convey by quitclaim deeds to the Greater Liberia Corporation, provided for in title V, all lands acquired under the provisions of this title, except such lands as shall be reserved by the Resident Deputy Administrator for public roads, public buildings, and other public purposes, said lands to be parceled out and disposed of in the same manner provided by section 501 for lands acquired by the said corporation in the Territory of Greater Liberia. The Greater Liberia Corporation is hereby authorized to enter into negotiations and contracts or agreements, subject to the approval of the President, with the Government of the Republic of Liberia and the American Colonization Society, for the extension into the said Republic of Liberia of its activities provided for in subsections (d) and (e) of section 501, and to exercise the right of eminent domain in the establishment of rights-of-way for trunk-line railways, and telephone and telegraph lines, to unify the Greater Liberia systems and to provide the settlements and communities established under this title with the benefits and services of such public utilities.

SEC. 602. (a) Upon the consummation of the negotiations for the acquisition of lands provided for in section 601, the President is authorized to enter into further negotiations with the Government of the Republic of Liberia for the purpose of obtaining the consent of such Government to the construction by the United States, in areas of such republic where persons receiving the benefits of this title may settle, of public roads, bridges, schools, sanitary facilities, river and harbor improvements, flood-control works, and other public buildings and works of similar character, such buildings and works to be constructed by the United States, and such part of the cost of such construction as may be agreed upon by the President and the Government of the Republic of Liberia to be covered by bonds of the Republic of Liberia issued to the United States and bearing such interest and containing such provisions with respect to redemption as the President may deem adequate: *Provided*, That the title to such public works and buildings shall remain in the Government of the United States until such time as the Government of the Republic of Liberia shall have amortized with interest the bonds provided for herein or such part thereof as shall be agreed to between the President and the Government of the Republic of Liberia, at which time the President shall convey to the Government of the Republic of Liberia the title to said public buildings and works, reserving a lien on the same to secure any unpaid balances remaining. If the President determines that such negotiations may be consummated in a manner satisfactory to him, and if he further determines that the Government of the Republic of Liberia will give adequate assurances with respect to the operation and maintenance of such public buildings and works as may be constructed in such republic by the United States, the President shall have all the necessary authority to consummate such negotiations.

(b) In the event the consent of the Government of the Republic of Liberia to the construction of such public buildings and works is obtained as provided in subsection (a) of this section, the Administrator is authorized, subject to the approval of the President, to construct any such public buildings and works in such areas of the Republic of Liberia where persons receiving the benefits of this title may have settled, as he deems advisable: *Provided*, That preference in employment for such construction of public works and buildings shall be given to citizens of the United States who can qualify as migrants under the provisions of this act: *Provided further*, That no such public buildings or works shall be constructed until the Government of the Republic of Liberia has agreed that upon completion of such public buildings or works, the Government of said Republic will deliver to the President of the United States, or any other person designated by him for the purpose, bonds of such Republic covering such part of the cost of such public buildings or works as is to be borne by such Republic.

SEC. 603. (a) Any citizen of the United States, or any alien who is a bona fide resident of the United States, who can qualify in accordance with the provisions of title I and subsection (a) of section 407 of this act, and who may also become eligible for citizenship in the Republic of Liberia, may apply for migration to the Republic of Liberia under the provisions of this title in the same manner and under the same terms and conditions as are prescribed for migrants to the Territory of Greater Liberia in accordance with the provisions of section 407 of this act.

(b) The Administrator shall proceed, in the case of migrants to the Republic of Liberia under the provisions of this title, in the same manner and under the same terms and conditions as are provided in sections 407 and 408 of this act for migrants to the Territory of Greater Liberia, and shall extend to said migrants under this title such of the facilities, grants-in-aid, and all other emoluments extended to migrants to the Territory of Greater Liberia under any of the provisions of this act as are not inapplicable to such migrations to the Republic of Liberia.

SEC. 604. The President shall further negotiate with the Government of the Republic of Liberia to secure reasonable guarantees of safety of life and limb and freedom of action for the migrants while under Liberian rule; to assure that the Government of the Republic of Liberia will earnestly prohibit and punish any act or acts of intolerance or persecution, either political, social, or economic, of the migrants because of their condition as migrants; to assure that the migrants while aliens in the Republic of Liberia shall enjoy all the privileges and immunities of any other aliens resident in the Republic of Liberia, and that, after naturalization,

they shall enjoy all the privileges and immunities of any other naturalized citizens of the Republic of Liberia; and to assure that the Government of the Republic of Liberia will extend the greatest amount of home rule consistent with the Constitution and laws of the Republic of Liberia to all settlements and communities made up of migrants under the provisions of this act; and that preference to all appointive offices in said settlements or communities shall be given to naturalized migrants who may otherwise qualify. The provisions of this section shall be a condition precedent to other negotiations under this title.

TITLE VII

SECTION 701. (a) Upon assumption of jurisdiction and exercise of sovereignty by the United States over the territory of greater Liberia, the President shall extend to such territory all the Federal services in their various activities and departments, except such as shall by circumstances and local conditions be inoperative; and all Federal laws and statutes not locally inapplicable shall extend to the said territory with the same force and effectiveness as in any other lands subject to the jurisdiction of the United States.

(b) For the purposes of this section the President shall appoint one special assistant to the Postmaster General, who shall have charge of the organization and operation of the postal services in the territory and of the enforcement of the postal laws, and who shall be responsible to the Postmaster General of the United States for the proper functioning of the postal system throughout the territory; one special assistant to the Attorney General, who shall be in charge of the enforcement of the Federal laws throughout the territory and of the proper functioning of the judicial department, performing such other and further duties in connection with his office as shall be assigned by the Attorney General of the United States; one special assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury, who shall have charge of the collection of all customs and internal revenues in the name of the United States, and who shall act as the personal representative of the Secretary of the Treasury in all matters coming within the jurisdiction of the Department of the Treasury; one special assistant to the Secretary of Commerce, who shall organize, supervise, and direct the light-house, coast and geodetic survey, steamboat inspection, and census services and all other services and functions pertaining to the Department of Commerce, and who shall act as the personal representative of the Secretary of Commerce in all matters pertaining to his Department; one special assistant to the Secretary of Labor, who shall supervise and direct the immigration and naturalization services and all other services within the scope and jurisdiction of the Department of Labor; and in the same manner the President shall appoint special assistants to the Secretaries of Agriculture and of the Interior if in his judgment he deems that the services and the needs of the territory so require. The military governor, in addition to his duties as such, shall act as personal representative of the Secretary of War, and shall be charged with the organization of the military defenses of the territory, and of the training and supervision of all military forces and activities throughout the territory; and in the same manner the rear admiral in command of the naval militia of the territory shall act as the personal representative of the Secretary of the Navy and shall be charged with the organization and supervision of the naval defenses of the Territory and of the training of all personnel in the science of naval warfare. The President shall further divide the territory into Federal judicial districts, and he is hereby authorized to establish and put into operation a United States district court in each judicial district, with the same powers and under the same terms and conditions as in the case of such courts established for other Territories of the United States.

(c) All appointments to office, whether Federal or Territorial office, shall preferably be made from such citizens of the United States who, by their physical fitness and climatic adaptability, may assure to the United States the proper operation of the governmental services, and are less likely to impair such services for failure of physical endurance, all other conditions being equal.

Sec. 702. At the earliest practicable time, but not more than 2 years from the military occupation of said lands, Congress shall establish a civil government in the said territory, and shall enact and put into operation and in force an organic act for the said territory, providing therein the maximum amount of self-government which is consistent with the territorial form of government. It is hereby declared to be the intent of Congress that the territorial form of government herein provided for shall be only transitory and preparatory to a higher form of self-government, and that Congress shall provide for a commonwealth form of government to follow the said territorial form of government at the end of 4 years from the initiation of the said territorial form of government, such commonwealth to be established under such terms and conditions as will provide complete autonomy to the said territory. It shall be the policy of the territorial government to prepare the said territory for government as such a commonwealth under the United States.

(b) Whenever, at any time after the establishment of the commonwealth government, in the opinion of Congress the said commonwealth shall have attained sufficient perfection in its internal life to warrant independence, and its national defenses shall have been so organized and perfected as reasonably to assure to the said commonwealth security against foreign aggression, the President at the request of Congress may enter into negotiations with the Government of the Republic of Liberia with a

view to having such commonwealth incorporated into the Republic of Liberia to form together one independent Republic of Greater Liberia, with due recognition as such by the United States. If the President determines that such negotiations may not be consummated with the Government of the Republic of Liberia in a manner satisfactory to him and in accordance with the purposes and intent of this act, he shall formulate and submit to Congress for its approval a plan whereby independence may be granted to the Commonwealth of Greater Liberia without incorporation into the Republic of Liberia.

Sec. 703. Until Congress shall have been able to estimate and determine the annual cost of the operation of this act and the available income for the same, the President is hereby authorized to utilize the following funds and credits to put this act into immediate operation and to finance the initial expenditures in connection with this act:

(a) All customs, Federal internal revenues and other Federal taxes levied and collected within the territory of greater Liberia.

(b) All payments in gold or in cash paid by the debtor nations to the United States by virtue of World War debts, whether the same is a so-called token payment or any other form of cash payment.

(c) Not to exceed \$1,000,000,000 of any funds of the United States available and not allocated for any other purposes: *Provided*, That if such funds be not available, the President is hereby authorized to pledge the credit of the United States in an amount not to exceed the said \$1,000,000,000 in order to secure such funds.

Sec. 704. The President is authorized to remove any restrictions placed on the borrowing power or borrowing facilities of any nation owing debts to the United States, by any act of Congress limiting the borrowing powers or facilities of such debtor nations, in consequence of concessions obtained by the United States by virtue of the negotiations and agreements entered into pursuant to the provisions of title II of this act, the extent of the removal of such restrictions in any case to be determined on the basis of the concessions made in relation to the total debts due from said debtor nations, respectively. The President is further authorized to reimpose such restriction at any time upon failure to fully carry out any of the agreements entered into or concessions obtained by virtue of title II of this act.

Sec. 705. If any provision of this act, or the application thereof to any person or circumstance, is held invalid, the remainder of the act, and the application of such provisions to other persons or circumstances, shall not be affected thereby.

EXHIBIT A

DOES HITLER WANT AMERICA NEXT? HERE IS THE EVIDENCE—AND THE INSIDE STORY OF WHAT WE ARE DOING ABOUT IT

(By Walter Karig)

Hitler wants American soil.

He almost got it—a chunk out of the northeastern edge of South America—when President Roosevelt was tipped off that the map makers of Munich were contemplating real-estate transactions on this side of the Atlantic.

That was when the world started to hear about "continental defense" from Washington, and inspired stories went forth to Europe that the United States was contemplating a New World League of Nations embracing Canada, Latin America, and even Australia and New Zealand.

Quickly the British sent back word that they had never, never intended giving Guiana to Germany. No, indeed! They had merely discussed Guiana with Hitler as a haven for the exiled German Jews. Immediately there broke out in the servile German press bitter denunciations of the United States as the oppressor of Latin America. Powerful short-wave radio stations in Germany and Italy swamped South American reception with propaganda that the Roosevelt preparedness program was designed to intimidate and conquer South America. Our southern neighbors were asked to remember the occupation of Nicaragua, the "theft" of Panama from Colombia by "that other Roosevelt."

So this message went forth by trans-Atlantic telephone to American Ambassadors Kennedy in England, Bullitt in France: "The United States Government is going to stop Hitler, regardless of Great Britain and France."

Uncle Sam is tired of being Uncle Samaritan. When we tried to stop the Japanese from starting to gobble up China, our sister democracies, England and France, gave us no support. The United States realizes now, after the "Peace of Munich," that Britain and France do not care whether nazi-facism goes, so long as it goes away from them.

The United States can play at that game, and has shaped a course as determined and as carefully planned as any venture we have made in international affairs.

First, we are uniting the North, Central, and South American commonwealths to resist European political invasion.

By virtue of our ownership of half the world's gold, we are going to resist European commercial exploitation of our neighbor countries by extending credits. Not to South American buyers; we learned our lesson in the 1920's there. The credits go to American exporters, to develop Latin-American markets.

Simultaneously, by making a trade treaty with Turkey, the United States has stopped the Berlin-to-Bagdad parade of the Nazis, thrown a monkey wrench into Hitler's consolidation of